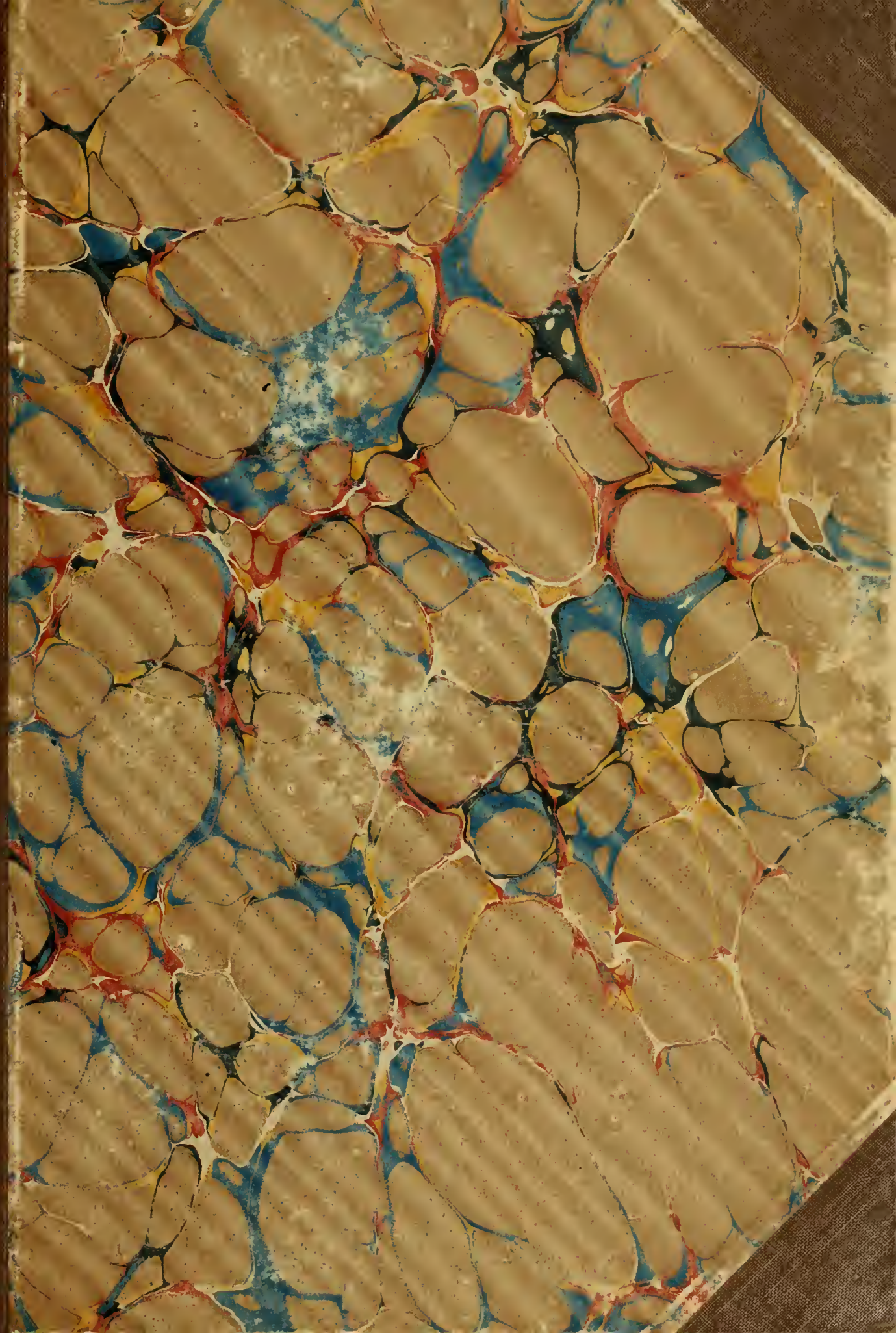


*DS
485
0925

D
0
0
0
7
2
0
8
5
0
7

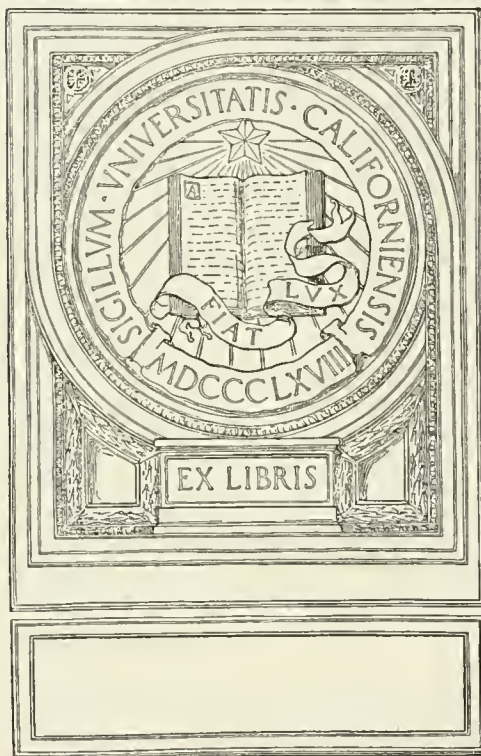


UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



52
200
1

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



LETTERS,

Political, Military, and Commercial,

ON THE

PRESENT STATE AND GOVERNMENT

OF THE

Province of Oude

AND ITS

DEPENDENCIES.

ADDRESSED TO

SIR JOHN SHORE, BARONET,

Governor General

OF THE

BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN INDIA.

Ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et æquitate libido atque, superbia invasere, fortuna
simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque à minus
bono transfertur. SALLUST.

THE
LIBRARY
OF THE
MUSEUM
OF
COMPARATIVE ZOOLOGY
AND
ANATOMY
OF THE
MUSEUM OF
COMPARATIVE ZOOLOGY
AND
ANATOMY

ALBOSILAS TO VIRU
CALIBHA 20.17A
YRABUL

*TS
485
0925

LIBRARY SETS

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE following letters, written by a Lieutenant in the Bengal Cavalry, have commanded the applause of every man in India, and the approbation of the Right Hon. the President of the Board of Controul, who hesitated not, with the manly liberality that so strongly marks his character, to bear a willing testimony to the merits even of an obscure and anonymous writer.

It cannot be doubted but that the approbation of Mr. Dundas will be a ready passport of the following sheets, to the candid consideration of every man who is interested in the prosperity of our Indian possessions, and feels for the oppression and misery of some millions of his fellow creatures.

B

LETTERS,

357362

OCT 20 1940

Dawson's

LETTERS, &c.

To Sir JOHN SHORE, Bart.

Oude, June 1795.

SIR,

THE importance of the following reflections, which are the result of long experience, and a minute knowledge of the Nawab Vizier's country, will, it is hoped, be an apology for this intrusion, from a person who has no other means of conveying his sentiments to you. They were thrown hastily together on the departure of his Excellency's ministers for Calcutta, with the declared intention of effecting some change in the existing engagements with the Company, and are addressed, I trust, with peculiar propriety to you, to whom I shall take the further liberty of addressing such elucidations, as the subject may seem to require. Should this effort, in any manner, contribute to bring relief to the wretched inhabitants of this distracted country, it will be a heartfelt gratification to me, and all the reward I expect or hope.

Considering the immense advantages which the Honourable Company derive from their connection with the Nawab Vizier, and the minute attention they pay to whatever may promote their own prosperity, and support their interest in the East, it is a matter of surprise and astonishment, that they have never taken any measures for the improvement of his country; nor even used the common precautions which prudence dictates, or good sense directs, for its defence and permanent security. A too literal adherence to their engagements, and a studious, perhaps a culpable compliance with the prejudices of an interested party in England, may have hitherto prevented any interference in the interior management of his country. But to a cool and dispassionate mind, not biassed by prejudice, nor warped by interest, their conduct to him, ever since he has been placed on the Musnud, would appear, rather that of an insidious enemy, systematically devising means for his destruction, than as friends and protectors united in the same views, and the same interests.

The enormous sums in specie which they have drawn from him; the duties which they levy on the few articles which his country produces for exportation;

tion ; and above all, the continued annual drain of near one-third of a subsidy, paid expressly for the defence of his dominions, have a tendency obviously pernicious, and, added to the fundamental defects in the government, have, since the demise of Sujah Dowlah, reduced his revenue * upwards of a crore of rupees, (1,000,000*l.* sterling) per annum. It is obvious that such a system, if continued, must terminate in the entire ruin of the country ; the evils, which it has already produced, are of an alarming magnitude : † emigrations are frequent : cultivation has been on the decline for many years ; and, at the present time, the Company's troops stationed in his country, are subsisted by the supplies which they draw from the Mirzapore and Benares districts. Property is insecure. Murders and robberies are daily committed, and pass unpunished, and even unnoticed. Ultimately, there is neither police nor efficient government in his country. These facts are undeniable, and prove the necessity of the Company extending, without delay, their paternal care to the subjects of a friend and ally, whose prosperity is so intimately blended with our own.

When the disposition of the Vizier, the character of his ministers, and the nature of his government, are considered, it will not be difficult to discover the causes, which, joined with his hitherto pernicious connection with the Company, have reduced his country to the wretched state in which we now contemplate it.

Bred up in habits of indolence and pleasure, and with an unconquerable aversion to business, the Vizier allows the administration of his government to fall into such hands, as, he thinks, will contribute most largely to the gratifications of his favourite pursuits. The ‡ ostensible minister is weak, ignorant, and voluptuous. The § acting one has little to recommend him, beside a knowledge of the common forms of office ; he has neither firmness of mind nor talents for a station above that of head mutsuddée, (a writer or clerk in an office) from which he has been lately raised. Both have a passion for money, and lose no means by which it may be procured : the one to display an ostentatious magnificence ; the other to hoard, as is the practice of all his cast. In no court are the vices of venality and corruption carried to greater lengths than in that of Lucknow. The government of a large district is often sold to

* Rohilcund (exclusive of Fuzulla Khan's Jageer) produced under the government of the Rohillas in 1772-3 ninety-six lacks of rupees. After the conquest, in 1774, it was let for eighty-four lacks of rupees. In the year 1782 for fifty-five lacks. In the year 1790 for forty-five lacks ; and this year, 1793, little above thirty lacks have been realized.

In the above period there was a succession of above ten aumils. Than this fact nothing can place in a stronger point of view the miserable state of the Vizier's government. The decrease in the revenues of Goruckpore, Banfy, and Baraitch, has been still greater than in Rohilcund.

† Goruckpore and the districts in the vicinity of the Bahar Province are almost entirely depopulated. And since the ten years settlement made by Jonathan Duncan, Esq. in the zemindary of Benares in 1787-8, the province of Illahabad has lost one-fourth of its inhabitants.

‡ Hussian Reza Khan.

§ Rajah Tekkut Ray.

the

the highest bidder, and not unfrequently the reward of actions disgraceful to our nature, and at which humanity revolts.* No attention is paid to character in the choice of Aumils, (governors and collectors of districts) although invested with boundless power, having life and death in their hands. Such men, subject to no check or controul, and conscious of being daily liable to be displaced by a greater favourite, or one who can bribe higher, cannot be supposed to be interested in the improvement of the country. Their sole object is to amass and plunder, and the wretched husbandman, unable to procure redress, is compelled to submit to what he considers his destiny, or by a painful conquest over his prejudices, fly to the more happy districts under the government of the Company.

The immense body of troops maintained by the Aumils under the denomination of Mutayenna, and the enormous deductions which are made on that account from the revenues, may also be mentioned as principal causes of the rapid decline of the country. These troops, which are kept up for the avowed purpose of enforcing the collections, consist of about forty eight thousand infantry, and thirteen thousand cavalry, and with their guns and ammunition, cost the Vizier annually above seventy-five lacks of rupees. Besides being a heavy burthen to the state, this rabble, without discipline or subordination, keeps the country in perpetual warfare and disorder, from the continual acts of oppression which they are in the habit of committing on the industrious farmer and mechanic. (*See Abstract Statement, &c. at the end of the letter.*)

No prospect remains that the Nawab, or his ministers, will voluntarily set about rectifying abuses, or think of establishing a regular system for the collection of the revenue, or the administration of justice, founded on the principles of reason and equity. The excellent system in force in the Company's provinces would afford them an admirable example, had they the good of the subject or the prosperity of the country at heart; but these are ideas that have never entered the mind of either, nor ever will, unless impressed by a decided interference of the Company. The propriety, and even the necessity of such an interference is no longer a question; for surely the prosperity of one of the finest countries in Hindostan, and the happiness of some millions of subjects, are not to be sacrificed to a mistaken and reprehensible delicacy, or put in competition with the wishes of a few, who have been their plunderers and tyrants.

But until the subject shall engage the attention of Parliament, effectual relief cannot be expected. It may, however, be hoped that the same humanity which dictated the Mukurreree system, now established in the Company's provinces, will recommend a similar one for the Vizier's dominions. The government in India ought in the meantime to use every means in their power to

* A bearer (chairman), a dog-keeper, orderlies, and many others of the lowest casts, and most detestable characters, have been raised to places of the highest trust and responsibility, recommended solely by vices at which human nature shudders.

retard the progress of the alarming evils, until they shall receive authority for eradicating them entirely. By striking off the duties on the manufactures and productions of his country, they might give encouragement to the trade, which the enterprising spirit of a few individuals of the British nation has introduced. By putting a stop to the drain of specie, they would give new life and vigour to industry and cultivation. They might recommend to the Vizier to abolish the ruinous establishment of the Mutayenna troops, and in the event of agreeing to increase the subsidy to eighty-five lacks (which he might easily do from the saving this measure would induce) they might engage to furnish him with troops that would not only better promote the end for which the Mutayenna are kept up, but be a check on the oppressions and enormities of the Aumils. An augmentation of our Native battalions, and the establishment of a respectable body of cavalry, would thus be obtained; objects not more essential to the defence and security of the Vizier's dominions, than to the preservation of the peace of Hindostan. -

I am, SIR,

With all due respect,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

CIVIS.

ABSTRACT STATEMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE VIZIER'S MUTAYENNA TROOPS.

STATIONS.	Cavalry.		Infantry.		Artillery.	Expense of Mutayenna with each Aumil.	Total of Expense.
	Number of Men.	Amount of Expense.	Number of Men.	Amount of Expense.			
Corah, Etawa, &c. &c.	3,556	9,89,954 14 0	9,053	5,96,056 0 0	99,639 0 0	16,76,642 14 0	
Rohilcund	1,740	4,96,616 14 0	6,492	4,55,806 10 1	47,000 0 0	9,99,513 8 1	
Khyrabad and Mhamdy,	502	2,21,450 8 0	700	2,51,375 0 0	51,503 12 0	2,98,329 4 0	
Ghoonda and Amora	320	1,01,323 0 0	2,328	1,26,295 0 0	14,079 0 0	2,41,688 0 0	
Bareilly, Dalmow, Reddowly, &c.	339	77,825 6 0	1,763	1,44,492 8 0	4,535 0 0	2,26,852 14 0	
Armuty and Rampore	181	73,412 4 0	870	68,619 0 0	18,356 4 0	1,60,387 8 0	
Sylah	115	32,402 0 0	1,182	49,593 0 0	8,996 10 1	90,991 10 1	
Sulanpore	749	2,55,655 10 0	2,645	1,12,317 0 0	15,000 0 0	3,82,972 10 0	
Sundelu Milleabad	231	98,473 8 0	750	27,187 0 0	5,085 0 0	1,30,745 8 0	
Azemgur and Mahole	875	3,07,544 11 2	2,760	1,30,485 0 0	21,400 0 0	4,69,429 11 2	
Achurpore	400	1,19,407 0 0	1,131	49,125 0 0	16,434 0 0	1,84,966 0 0	
Sandy and Shahabad	218	54,642 0 0	1,000	36,250 0 0	10,472 0 0	1,01,364 0 0	
Achmeh Sundelu Milleabad	40	9,180 0 0	679	27,466 0 0	5,741 0 0	42,387 0 0	
The Sayer	18	5,127 8 0	215	14,362 8 0	—	19,490 0 0	
Furruckabad	100	24,000 0 0	1,000	4,000 0 0	—	64,000 0 0	
Byfwarrah	257	54,976 0 0	2,000	8,000 0 0	24,412 0 0	1,59,388 0 0	
Allahabad	209	62,700 0 0	2,000	96,000 0 0	10,000 0 0	1,68,700 0 0	
Parrabgur	250	90,000 0 0	1,000	36,250 0 0	12,757 8 0	1,39,007 8 0	
Lucknow	5	1,821 12 0	150	5,437 8 0	—	7,259 4 0	
Mohon	3	1,235 0 0	75	4,368 0 0	—	5,603 0 0	
Goruckpore	688	2,06,648 0 0	3,840	2,81,651 2 0	32,000 0 0	5,20,299 2 0	
Maunooabawry	74	7,323 0 0	300	10,875 0 0	3,000 0 0	25,198 0 0	
Sahlone	272	87,940 0 0	2,200	50,000 0 0	7,000 0 0	1,40,940 0 0	
Soorangepore	123	31,647 8 0	575	41,410 0 0	6,799 0 0	79,553 4 0	
Bridgenore, &c.	287	99,040 0 0	—	—	—	99,040 0 0	
Lucknow	1,590	6,75,130 0 0	4,007	3,16,198 12 0	1,04,577 0 0	10,97,905 12 0	
	13,152	41,85,476 7 2	48,715	28,27,406 13 1	5,09,778 2 1		7,522,661 6 0

N. B. These troops are employed solely in enforcing the collections of the revenue, there being, exclusive of them, the huzzooree, or household troops, that guard and attend on the person of the Nabob; they consist of several battalions of sepoy, a large train of artillery, and a considerable body of cavalry, totally without order or discipline.

To Sir JOHN SHORE, Bart.

SIR,

Oude, July 18, 1793.

ON the departure of the Nabob Vizier's ministers for the presidency, I took the liberty of addressing some reflections to you on the state of the country, in the hope that I should draw your humane attention to the consideration of the miserable situation of its inhabitants. The obvious causes of the ruin which is impending over it were therein depicted with moderation and truth, and, I trust, amply prove the necessity of the Bengal government extending, without delay, their paternal care to avert the evil. I shall occasionally continue to add such reflections and facts as appear necessary to the further elucidation of this important subject.

It is a truth universally admitted, that the subjects under all arbitrary governments are happy or miserable in proportion to the wisdom or depravity of their rulers; and perhaps it has never been more forcibly evinced than in the example afforded by a comparison of the Company's government with that of the Nabob Vizier's. The Company, with the grant or conquest of their provinces, naturally acquired the power of ruling their subjects by the same arbitrary maxims by which they had hitherto been governed, but have wisely relinquished that right in a very great measure, and established a system more liberal and just; their subjects consequently enjoy a degree of happiness and of increasing prosperity, unknown in any other part of Hindostan. The striking traits in the Nabob Vizier's government strongly resemble those of his * character and disposition, which have been already given, and are sufficiently well known to make any repetition of them here unnecessary. No fixed system, no police, no courts of justice; the unhappy subjects in his dominions are left exposed to rapacity and oppression, and in the anarchy and confusion which is the inevitable consequence, cultivation is neglected, and trade and manufactures suffered to decay. Having mentioned in a former communication the advantages which the Company derive from this country, and also that the heavy drain of specie which they have made from it, was one of the causes of its decline, the following statement is given in proof of these assertions; it will shew the total amount which they have received from hence in the last twenty years, and in the proportion

* " *Extract of a letter from the Governor-general in Council, to the Court of Directors, dated 4th February, 1775.*

Paragraph 4th. " Just before the Vizier's death (6th February) he wrote a letter to the governor-general, which was afterwards transmitted to its address by Mahomed Elich Khan, his minister and favourite servant, accompanied by one from himself; by these letters it appears that Mirza Amanny, otherwise called Asopt ul Dowlah, had his father's positive nomination to the succession, and though by all accounts he possesses neither the qualities of the heart nor head equal to the station to which he is thus called, we have not as yet any reason to think that his right will be disputed."

of that amount which they have drawn out of it. The statement for the first thirteen years is taken from an account dated at the India House the 24th of April, 1787, and that for the last seven years, though not from so authentic a source, will be found correct.

	Fyzabad Rupees.
The total amount which the Bengal government have received from the Nabob Vizier of Oude, from the 1st of September, 1773, to 1st September, 1786, is - - -	9,22,78,731
And from the 1st September, 1786, to 1st September next, the amount received will be - - -	3,50,00,000
Total amount in twenty years, Fyzabad rupees - - -	12,72,78,731
Of the first sum in the period above specified, there was remitted to troops on foreign service, Fyzabad rupees -	41,74,482
To Calcutta - - - - -	2,56,36,386
To Bombay and Surat - - - - -	15,75,000
Amount remitted from 1st September, 1773, to 1st September, 1786 - - - - -	3,13,85,848
Of the second sum there has been remitted to Calcutta and Bombay - - - - -	1,15,00 000
Total amount drawn from the Vizier's dominions by the Company, from 1st September, 1773, to 1st September, 1793, in Fyzabad, or Sic. rupees - - -	4,28,85,848

By this statement it appears that the total amount received by the Company in the twenty years, ending the 1st September next, will be twelve crore, seventy-two lacks, seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and thirty-one Fyzabad rupees; and that of this sum they have drawn from the Nabob Vizier's country, on the public account, upwards of one third of that sum, or four crores, twenty-eight lacks, eighty-five thousand eight hundred and forty-eight rupees, exclusive of the sums which individuals in their service have remitted on their own private account, and the whole may be fairly estimated at five millions sterling. That the treasure of the country must be exhausted, this proves beyond the possibility of a doubt, and that there must have been immense sums deposited therein, is evident, or it would never have borne so heavy a drain of specie from the circulation, for its trade; the only other source from whence any supply could be obtained, has been hitherto but trifling, as the following extract from Governor Hastings's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Lucknow, the 30th April, 1784 will manifest:

“ This country has no inlets of trade by which it can supply the issues that
 “ are made from it; for excepting the factory at Taunda, which subsists by a
 D “ contract

“ contract making part of your investment, and the produce of opium and salt-
 “ petre, which is not considerable, I do not know any other articles of com-
 “ merce from which it could derive any returns, therefore every rupee which is
 “ drawn from its circulation into your treasury, must accelerate the period at
 “ which its ability must cease even to pay the stipulated subsidy. By continu-
 “ ance of this fund, you maintain an accession of more than one half to the mi-
 “ litary establishment, required for the defence of your own dominions, with-
 “ out any charge on your own income, and you oppose a wide and powerful
 “ frontier to your eventual enemies.

“ That force will continue to be an effectual safeguard to the country, which
 “ will suffer nothing by its maintenance, because the specie thus applied will
 “ of course flow back into its circulation, and it is a tribute which it ought
 “ gladly to pay, for its whole wealth would not in any other way yield an ade-
 “ quate mode of protection.”

It may be proper to observe, that since the date of the above letter, the active
 industry of a few enterprising Europeans hath, in defiance of the various ob-
 stacles which oppose them, increased the trade in cloths manufactured at
 Taunda and Khirabad considerably, and that owing to the commotions in
 Europe and the West Indies, two branches of commerce (indigo and sugar)
 almost entirely new, have arisen in this country. When the exhausted state of
 the money in circulation is considered, we shall be inclined to attribute to these
 fortunate circumstances, in a great measure, that the period predicted by Go-
 vernor Hastings in the above letter, has not long since arrived; but though they
 may have protracted it, still they are not of magnitude sufficient to avert it en-
 tirely, under the restrictions and disadvantages through which trade is at present
 carried on; indeed, if report is to be credited, the ministers are authorized to
 declare the Vizier's inability to continue the subsidy, and demand a remission, or
 a very considerable reduction of it, and propose the withdrawing some part of
 the troops. The impolicy and imbecility of these propositions correspond so
 exactly with other acts of the Lucknow ministry, as to intitle them to some
 degree of credit, and prove the near approach of the portended ruin.

The great deficiencies in the revenues next claim consideration. It will not
 be difficult, by a close investigation into what this country has produced at dif-
 ferent periods, and by an examination of the fertility of its soil, and the great
 extension its trade is capable of, to make appear that they may with great ease
 be increased even to double of what they are at present, if the same system of
 government was extended to this country which now exists in the Company's
 provinces.

The best informed natives declare, that the late Nabob Suja Dowla realized
 annually three crore of rupees, and upwards, and that had he lived a few years
 longer, until the newly conquered possessions had acquired a permanent degree
 of prosperity, his revenues would have amounted to very near four crore of ru-
 pees. Every person who was acquainted with the late Vizier, and the vigour

of his government, and knows this country, will readily give credit to their assertions; they also declare, that under the management of the Company, it is still capable of being raised to this sum, and do not hesitate to express their hope, that the day is not distant when that desirable event will take place, an event that would secure to them their lives, their property, and the fruits of their industry.

The unsettled state of the Nabob Vizier's country and government in 1784, and the reasons which induced the Governor General to visit Lucknow, are too well known to need relation here; it will suffice to state, that he found only 1,79,75,504 rupees had been realized that year, and that the following settlement was made by his advice and at his recommendation for five years, with men recommended by the minister as the most respectable and trust-worthy. (*See Account, &c. at the end of the letter.*) Viz. For

					Rupees.
1784-5, or Fuffullee year,	1192	-	-	-	2,20,65,630
1785-6, or ditto,	-	1193	-	-	2,44,50,404
1786-7, or ditto,	-	1194	-	-	2,66,05,326
1787-8, or ditto,	-	1195	-	-	2,87,11,326
1788-9, or ditto,	-	1196	-	-	3,06,93,036

He* was, however, extremely deceived in the opinion he formed of the the Vizier and his minister, if he was so sanguine as to hope that they would carry through the plan of settlement which he had formed with so much care: few of the engagements lasted more than two years, and many of them only one; all reverted to the old system of rapacity and oppression, and the collections of the present year will fall short even of those of 1784, when they were at the lowest ebb of depression.

Much yet remains to be said regarding the trade, the soil, and cultivation; but it shall be reserved for a future occasion, having already trespassed too long on your time and patience.

I am, SIR,

With due respect,

Your devoted Servant,

CIVIS.

* This settlement proves that the Governor General was of opinion that the country would with ease produce upwards of three crores of rupees per annum; and from his own extensive local knowledge, and the services and information he could command, it is fair to conclude that his opinion was just and well-founded.

ACCOUNT PARTICULARS OF THE FIVE YEARS SETTLEMENTS.

Provinces.	Aumils Names.	Summa of last Year, 1191, A. D. 1753-4.	Summa of 1192, A. D. 1754-5.	Summa of 1193, A. D. 1755-6.	Summa of 1194, A. D. 1756-7.	Summa of 1195, A. D. 1757-8.	Summa of 1196, A. D. 1758-9.	Total Summa of the five Years.
Corah, Etaya, and Co.	Alma's Ally Cawn	4930415 8	6356267 6	6399532 0	7399532 0	7899532 0	8299532 0	36854395 0
Chuckla, Barely, including Meyoola	Raja Jagernaut	3488645 12	4400000 0	4800000 0	5200000 0	5700000 0	6200000 0	26300000 0
Illiahabad	Nabob Amer Khan	590303 14	811000 0	861000 0	911000 0	961000 0	1011000 0	4555000 0
Pertabgur, Pellyore, and Bilkin	Mahomed Beg Cawn	472037 0	531000 0	591000 0	653000 0	716000 0	78000 0	327100 0
Khairabad, Mahomdy, and Conne	Suttlperthaud	804506 13	1000000 0	1272500 0	1437000 0	1585000 0	173500 0	7112500 0
Baiwarah, Dulow, Bazolly, Garutty, Rampore,	Ramlien	1385013 0	1820002 0	2070002 0	2250002 0	2350002 0	2450002 0	19040010 0
Sauvee	Suttlperthaud	250000 0	290000 0	333000 0	363000 0	393000 0	423000 0	1812000 0
Sundelab, Malleabad, and Barre	Mirza Mahomed Beg	466161 8	506161 8	546161 8	586161 8	626161 8	666161 8	2930807 8
Deriabab, Badowlu, and Co.	Mirza Mehedy	628770 6	751000 0	876000 0	966000 0	1041000 0	1101000 0	4735005 0
Gorackpore	Mahomed Shuffee Cawn	1615842 3	1810000 0	2300000 0	2700000 0	3100000 0	3500000 0	13310000 1
Azamgur, Sultaupore, or Akba, pore	Mirza Alla Beg Cawn	1188513 9	1314001 0	1514001 0	1664001 0	1764001 0	1864001 0	8120005 0
Khareagur	Lalloo Dode Sing	200001 0	200001 0	200001 0	200001 0	200001 0	200001 0	1000005 0
Sair	Rajah Bowany Sing	200005 0	200001 0	200001 0	200001 0	200001 0	200001 0	1000010 0
Mohan	Meer Ally Ahmed	62688 0	73000 0	73000 0	73000 0	73000 0	73000 0	365000 0
Lucknow	Aga Algerie	58675 12	58675 12	58675 12	58675 12	58675 12	58675 12	293378 15
Furuckabad	Ray Namul Dofs	450000 0	450000 0	450000 0	450000 0	450000 0	450000 0	2250000 0
Syluck	Binva Ambar Abby Khan	185415 14	217500 2	245000 2	273030 2	301030 2	329295 2	1365415 10
Ayema, Sundula, Multahad	Meer Imam Uddun Khan	278539 8	325000 0	365000 0	400000 0	435000 0	465000 0	1990000 0
Jais	—	285425 15	320000 0	350000 0	380000 0	410000 0	439444 4	1899444 4
Sundry Tallocks	—	441494 15	441494 15	444494 15	446916 15	446916 15	446916 15	2226740 13
		17975504 14	9122065630 1	3124450424 6	326605326 6	328711326 6	36693035 10	132525732 10

The Settlement of the following Mohals has also been made for the year 1197, A.D. 1789-1790.

Corah and Etaya	Alma's Ally Cawn	8299532 0	311000 0	8610532 0
Pertabgur and Bilker	Mahomed Beg Cawn	780000 0	66724 0	866724 0
Sybae Sikalu	Ray Nennul Dofs	329295 2	32083 14	861379 0
		9408827 2	409807 14	9818635 0

To Sir JOHN SHORE, Bart.

Oude, 28th July, 1793.

SIR,

IN pursuance of my promise I proceed to make some observations on the trade and cultivation of the Nabob Vizier's dominions, and shall do it with the freedom and candour which truth demands, trusting that I shall obtain credit when I declare that I am actuated solely by humane motives, and neither dread reprehension nor hope for reward, other than the satisfaction of one who endeavours well.

In Great Britain and other countries, where trade has attained a degree of perfection, and the principles on which it is conducted are better defined and understood than they are in this quarter of the globe, the taxes and duties on each article, the exports and imports of each state, are easily ascertained; but in a country like this, (Oude) where trade may be termed in its infancy, the only possible mode of ascertaining the duties levied on each article, or of judging of the extent of its imports from, or exports to, the Company's dominions, is either from an inspection of the Custom-house books, or from the communications of merchants concerned in the different branches of the trade carried on in the country, who must necessarily have obtained a considerable degree of knowledge in the respective articles to which their attention has been directed. The first mode not being practicable, and many difficulties lying in the way of obtaining a general knowledge by the latter, I shall not be able to enter so minutely into the subject as I could wish, though I hope sufficiently so to answer the purpose in view.

The conduct observed with respect to the trade between the two countries, first presents itself to consideration: This is regulated by what is called a Commercial Treaty; the term is, I suppose, given for form's sake: but as it may tend to mislead people, and make them imagine that as treaties are generally well discussed, and pretty evenly arranged with respect to the interests of the respective countries between which they are contracted before they are ratified, so of course the treaty with his Excellency the Vizier was fully approved of before agreed to. It is necessary to observe, that the treaty was presented to the Nabob with merely a *congé d'elire*, or rather not so much, as he durst not refuse to agree to a proposal coming from the Governor General; and instead of the pompous opening with which it at present commences, it would have been much more agreeable to truth to begin, like other official informations—"By order of the Governor General."

E

This

This treaty, after mentioning a number of articles and the amount of duties to be paid upon them, contains a clause most singular, viz. "That either of the contracting parties may impose what duties they think proper on articles coming through or being the produce of their respective countries, except on cotton coming from the Decan."—From this it seems to be in the power of either party to put a stop to any particular branch of trade, but it really throws the whole power into the hands of the Governor General, as he has only occasion to request the Nabob to lay a heavy tax upon any article he wishes to prevent being imported into the Company's dominions. Such has been the case with indigo, which, although an article that not only employs a great number of people in the cultivation and manufacture of it, but also tends considerably to increase cultivation, and of course the revenues of the country have received so great a check by the heavy duties levied upon it, amounting to seven rupees twelve annas per maund, that it must gradually fall off. Sugar, an article now in great demand, and that might become equally beneficial to cultivation and the revenues of the country, is shackled with a duty of ten per cent. Opium, salt-petre, cloths, and in short every article which the country produces for exportation (and they consist of a great variety) is burthened with a heavy and vexatious tax: but an article still more singular, excludes Rohilcund entirely from the treaty, or any benefit that could be derived from it: what is to be inferred from this exclusion? Either that the Nabob's title to this country is doubtful, or that the parties agree to set it apart for wanton rapacity, and from the conduct observed towards it, one would be inclined to believe the latter; a duty of near thirty per cent is laid on indigo, sugar, and other articles produced in it for exportation, which being equivalent to a prohibition, will totally stop the cultivation of these articles. Broad cloths, and the productions of Bengal, for which there is an extensive demand in Rohilcund and the adjoining countries, are excluded by enormous and arbitrary duties.

Yet even the complimentary form of the order being issued in the Nabob's name, has not always been attended to, but an article coming through his country, and affording a large revenue, which still promised to increase, viz. salt, has been peremptorily ordered to be confiscated, if imported into the Company's dominions, as the order states that it is found to be destructive of the profits the Company have long enjoyed from the monopoly of that article.

In the treaty it is agreed upon that all articles not mentioned (under which head comes salt) shall pay an import duty of five per cent. Surely this implies a toleration of such articles: could this act be defended in a court of justice after such an agreement? Would not damages be given on such a confiscation?

But let us pass over a subject so little worthy attention as the dignity of the Nabob is: let us consider the effect this prohibition has on the poor industrious inhabitants of the Company's provinces, who bear without repining an enormous profit extorted from them on an article, one of the principal necessities of life; who sacrifice life itself in the producing that article, and for what purpose?

pose? Is it to enrich the country? To open canals? To make roads? To endow hospitals for the relief of the sick? To afford sustenance for the poor? No! it is to enrich a body of people who unhappily prefer the narrow chicanery of a counting-house, to the noble and benignant principles of legislation. Such was the immense superiority of the salt alluded to, that in a year remarkable for the quantity manufactured in the Company's dominions, after the expenses of land carriage for 200 coffe,† after its charges, amounting to upwards of 300 per cent. on the prime cost, being defrayed, yet was it preferred both in price and quality to that provided by the Company. O wretched people! where your rulers are monopolizers, and let you perish or give up your property rather than abate their inhuman profits.

And yet does this inhuman measure deprive them of a greater profit than they gain. A learned writer (Dr. Adam Smith) observes, that a tax upon the necessaries of life acts in the same manner as a tax on the wages of labour, and must ultimately in the same manner fall upon the consumer. In the Company's dominions, therefore, as they are the principal and almost only consumers of the labour of the inhabitants, this tax must revert upon them. This salt has principally been consumed in Bahar: will not being obliged to pay higher for it than usual affect the price of opium, and thus injure the profits from another monopoly and every other commercial production?

With respect to indigo, nothing can be more extraordinary than the manner in which it is managed. The Company recommend every encouragement being given to its cultivation, yet will not suffer an European to hold a farm in their dominions. If he goes to the Nabob's, there is a duty of thirteen per cent. imposed, although it is well known it must come through the Company's dominions. In each of these sales the Nabob's revenue suffers; on the salt he gets a duty of four annas per maund, and, as has been observed, the indigo trade has been a most beneficial one to his country, and would be still more so were it not for the heavy duties. How much more noble would it be, instead of enriching one country at the expense of another, to endeavour to enrich both, abolish taxes at once on all merchandise, throw the trade completely open between the two countries, and allow industry a free exertion of her powers. The benefits which the Vizier's dominions would derive from it are too evident to need being insisted on. The increase of the revenue caused by the increase of the trade would make up tenfold for the loss sustained by the abolition of the duties.* The advantages to the Company are many, and solid, and with the increase of trade and cultivation in the Vizier's country, the consumption of European articles, and articles produced in Bengal, would increase.

* The gross amount of the duties is commonly about two lacks of rupees per annum; the neat sum paid into the treasury rarely amounts to one-half lack of rupees. A trifling sum compared to the advantages of a free trade, and not more than the Nabob has been known to give for a monkey or a toy!!!

† About 350 British miles.

The broad cloth, the copper, brass, lead, tin, fire-arms, cutlery, alum, &c. of Great Britain; the muslins, the wrought and unwrought silks, the beetle-nut, &c. of the Company's provinces; besides spices and various other articles, would find ample marts in the Vizier's dominions; and, passing with facility, would soon open new channels of trade with the nations to the west of them, and make their way to the banks of the Indus, and even to Cabul and Candahar. With respect to the soil of this country, and how far it is capable by its fertility to increase the various articles of commerce which it produces, the strongest proof that can be given of its excellence in this point, is, that under the burthened taxes and various impediments thrown in the way of trade, still has there been exported from it considerable quantities of indigo, sugar, salt-petre, and other articles of late years.

The fertility of Rohilcund and the countries on both banks of the Gogra are proverbial; the Doab and other parts of the Vizier's dominions are little inferior to them in soil or produce. In the Doab the indigo is found wild in many places, which gives reason to suppose that the soil must be more congenial to the production of that plant, than any other country we know.* The sugar cane thrives remarkably in every part of the country, but in Rohilcund is peculiarly luxuriant and productive. Grain of every denomination is produced in great abundance in every part with little labour. In short, no country appears to have been more liberally gifted by nature than this is, or better adapted for commerce and cultivation. The Ganges, the Goomty, and the Gogra, keeping nearly parallel courses, fertilize the soil, and afford an easy and ready communication by water, beside various other smaller rivers, which issue from the hills and fall into the Gogra and Ganges, and facilitate the internal intercourse.

To conclude, there is only a free trade and a just government required to make this as prosperous and happy a country as any on earth; and that it may soon enjoy these blessings, is the ardent wish of,

SIR,

Your devoted Servant,

CIVIS.

* The wild indigo plant of the Doab produces more indigo, and of a superior quality, than that which is cultivated.

To Sir JOHN SHORE, *Bart.*

Oude, August 1, 1793.

SIR,

IN my last letter I ventured to suggest some measures which would alleviate the miseries and evils with which this country is afflicted, and which I conceive could be effected by the government of Bengal, of its own authority, without risk or much difficulty. Having since given the subject a more general degree of consideration, it may be expected before I quit it, that I should give some idea of a more radical cure for the disorders which have been exposed to view; however unqualified I may be for the task, the expectation shall not be disappointed, and I shall deliver my sentiments on a total reform of the system of government in this country, with the same freedom and candour I have hitherto done. The disorders that require to be remedied, originating in fundamental defects in the principles of government, to remove them we must begin at the foundation of the edifice, and re-build it a-new, making use only of such materials as are found, rejecting the rotten and defective parts, at the same time preserving, as far as circumstances will admit, the outward appearance of the ancient structure. I shall make some preliminary observations and reflections on the nature of the Nabob's, and his predecessor's, connections with the Company, and conclude with a sketch of the plan and the advantages arising out of it.

The motives for restoring Oude and its dependencies to Sujah Dowlah, upon their becoming by conquest the property of the Company, were, it is to be supposed, an apprehension of the territorial acquisitions being too extensive for the means either of external defence or internal arrangement. The newly-assumed government of Bengal would also, it might be thought, require the united exertions of both the civil and military servants, and the proper arrangement and defence of that country alone afford them sufficient employment. By so generous an act, it might also be supposed that Sujah Dowlah's friendship would be secured to the Company, and a trade opened with the country, then in a flourishing state, and promising by his abilities to become of still greater importance; while by the clause limiting his means of defence, it must at all times remain at their mercy.

On the demise of Sujah Dowlah, a majority of the Supreme Board were of opinion, "that the specific conditions of our former alliance expired with him; "and that although we owe friendship to the present Nabob, as heir to his "father, we are not bound to any special services to him." Conformable to the principles of the Mussulman government, this opinion is strictly just and well-founded, and the Company were as decidedly intitled to the Subadary of

Oude, as they were on a former occasion to the Dewanee of Bengal, &c. and might have established this right with the concurrence of the Mogul, at as cheap a rate as the Nabob obtained the title and appointment of Vizier, (viz. ten-lacks of rupees, and six battalions of sepoys, stationed with the Huzoor,* under the command of Letafot Ally Khan.) In so doing, they would have acted with more justice, and certainly with more humanity, than they have done in the line of conduct since pursued. They would have saved the remains of the illustrious house of Timor from the ruin and miseries which have since fallen on it, and extended peace and prosperity to some millions of the human race. The above opinion, however, was opposed by a party of the Supreme Board, who soon succeeding to power by the demise of some of their opponents, and the opinion which they had adopted being approved of by the Company, the line of conduct observed towards Sujah Dowlah, was obstinately persevered in with the son, without ever examining his claims, or reflecting how dissimilar his character and his father's were. He inheriting neither the understanding nor abilities of his predecessor, and being addicted from his youth to some of the most detestable vices, which have left him without progeny, was held in so great disesteem, that he could not have maintained possession of the country a day without the aid and protection of the Company; as the assassination of his prime minister, Mukhtiar Uddowlah, and of Khojah Bussent, with the convulsions that took place on his accession, clearly evince. His imbecility, and these acts of violence, furnished the Company with a pretence for obtaining those advantages which they might have taken in their own right. By the subsidy they receive for the payment of troops to defend his dominions, they are enabled to keep up a very respectable force, and have a saving to defray the expenses of their foreign wars. By this force they command the country, while surrounding nations admire their forbearance; and to continue the farce, they form various alliances with him, as it suits their convenience, or as their interest may require. By the last of these, which is termed a commercial treaty, he is made nearly to destroy the cultivation of some of the most productive articles of the country, by the heaviness of the taxes imposed.

Why do we not openly and boldly take that country to which so just a claim can be made? (the having conquered it and being obliged to provide for its defence.) Why delay to apply these sums to the use of the country, and their own defence, which are now squandered on useless pageantry? Is it in compassion to a man equally noted for the vileness of his private character, and the inability of his public, they remain deaf to the cries of unfortunate millions, condemned to suffer from the rapacity of avaricious villains, whose only anxiety is to enrich themselves? The plea of character established among the neighbouring nations of generosity, is merely ideal. In the politics of nations, solid wisdom attracts admiration, and the keeping up a name, while the power remains in their hands, is too flimsy a veil not to be seen through.

* The presence, i. e. with the Vizier.

Giving the country to Sujah Dowlah, under whose wise administration the natives prospered and were happy, was a noble act, but continuing to let his successor hold it, without ever considering his abilities for such an office, is a disgrace to wisdom, a disgrace to humanity ; it is forging the fetters with which he oppresses that portion of mankind committed to his care. Let us view again the state of this country. The Nabob immersed in luxury, given up to the most despicable vices, and detested by his subjects—the revenue gradually falling off—the country farmed out to eunuchs and to slaves—population rapidly diminishing—the just reward of industry torn away by rapacious Aumils, who are alike strangers to justice and that noble passion a love to their country—property and life itself depending on the nod of a capricious tyrant and his minions.* Yet this vile character and this vile system is supported by the Company. From their armies he derives his strength, he enjoys this country ; from their assistance he collects his revenues, which he could not do by his disorderly troops, were it not for the fear of his orders being enforced by our's. By taking the country from such a disgrace to mankind, they would restore happiness to millions. Trade, cultivation, arts, every thing that is desirable to a nation, would increase, industry would exert itself, being sure to enjoy the fruits of its labours. The revenue, instead of being squandered on pernicious extravagance, would serve to protect the country from outward enemies, and the subjects from private plunderers. Trade would furnish a new resource of treasure to our country, and justice would exult in healing the wounds inflicted by despotism.

And who would be the sufferer ? The Nabob. I deny it ; enough would be left to supply him in all his reasonable desires ; enough even to live in great luxury, and give ample pensions to all his relations and dependents ; indeed, it can easily be demonstrated that his receipts would be infinitely greater, and more regular than they are at present. It is true, that his power of doing wrong would be circumscribed, but his power of doing good would be enlarged. In the plan I am going to propose, he is treated with more delicacy, perhaps, than his character deserves ; but having been raised to the situation in which he is placed by the Company, some consideration is due to the station. He in fact only changes a set of ignorant, incapable servants, for men who are well informed and able, and who are actuated by the true principles of justice : and to make the reform still more palatable and unobjectionable to him, the seat of the new government might be fixed at some central spot on the banks of the

* “ *Extract of a Letter from John Brislow, Esq. Resident at the Court of the Vizier, to the Governor-general in Council, dated Etarwa, 24th April, 1776.* ”

“ There are no Adawlets in this country, but the execution of justice rests with the Aumil and Cutwal. There is generally a Cutwal in each town, or any village of consequence ; he is totally subordinate to the Aumil, and I am sorry to say, in the execution of justice there is hardly any decision made but what is biased by money.”

See the whole of this letter, and many interesting papers relative to Oude in 2d part of Appendix to the 5th Report of the Committee of Secrecy on India affairs.

Ganges, such as Mindie Gaut, or Kanoge, leaving Lucknow for the undisturbed residence of his family and dependants.

In this and the foregoing papers, I trust I have made evident to every dispassionate mind the necessity and propriety of the Company's adopting some plan similar to what follows :

*Outlines of a Plan for establishing Courts of Justice in the Dominions of Oude.---
For regulating the Collections of the Revenue, and introducing the Mukurreree System.---For opening the Trade with Bengal, and abolishing Imposts and Duties.
---And for disbanding all irregular Troops, and raising regular Corps of Horse and Foot for the Defence of the Country, and, if necessary, to enforce the Collection of the Revenue.*

1st.—That a member of the Supreme Board, or any senior civil servant, be nominated resident at Lucknow, to act as first minister to the Vizier, but amenable to the Supreme Board, &c.

2d.—That four senior civil servants be appointed to Lucknow, to form a board of revenue and trade, at which the resident shall preside.

3d.—That the country be divided into districts, as in Bahar and Bengal, and Company's civil servants appointed to each, to collect or receive the revenue under the same rules and regulations as in the Company's provinces, &c. &c.

4th.—That Adawlets, or courts of justice, be established in each city and district, with a judge and register, who shall be Company's servants, under the same rules and regulations as they are in the Company's provinces, &c.

5th.—That the necessary offices under Company's servants be established, such as treasurer, paymaster, &c.

6th.—That all impost and duties be entirely abolished; and that all goods, the produce of Great Britain, or the Company's provinces, be imported into the dominions of Oude, &c. and carried into any part of them, (or the countries west of them) and sold duty free without let or molestation: and that, on the other hand, all articles, the produce of the Vizier's dominions, be imported into the Company's provinces duty free, &c.

7th.—That the whole of the Nabob's troops be disbanded, and that two brigades of cavalry, (each six regiments of 500 strong) and two brigades of infantry, (of the present strength) be raised, to defend and protect the country; these to be on the same footing, in all respects, as the Company's other troops now in his dominions.

8th.

8th.---That the surplus of the revenue, after paying the above civil and military establishments, and the other expenses of the government, all of which shall be regulated on strict principles of œconomy, be paid to the Nabob for his expenses, and to defray such pensions as he may chuse to confer on his relations and dependents.

Various other explanatory articles might be added, but this is sufficient to give the idea of a plan which would completely remove the disorders of this government.

The revenue of the country may be estimated at about two crore of rupees per annum, though this year they will, probably, fall considerably short of that sum; but under a government such as has been described, no doubt can be entertained but that they may, in the course of ten years, or less, be gradually increased to three crore and upward. At the expiration of ten years the Mukurreree system might be established, as by that time an equitable assessment could be ascertained. The increase of regular infantry, and the corps of cavalry, (the want of which has been so severely felt) would make the Company's forces so truly respectable, as to insure them the arbitration of Hindostan, and be the best security of a continuance of peace. The saving which would be made by the dismissal of the Mutayenna and other irregular troops, when added to the subsidy, would be amply sufficient to pay this force and defray the expenses of the civil government, the Nabob would consequently be in receipt of as large a sum as at present, with every probability of a considerable annual increase to it until the Mukurreree system was established, by which time it would be nearly doubled.

From what has been said, the advantages to the Company, to the Nabob, and to some millions of industrious inhabitants, must appear so evident, as to make it unnecessary to expatiate upon the subject farther; I shall therefore conclude, having discharged what I thought due to humanity, in bringing to public view the hardships and oppressions under which a harmless and industrious people groan, and in the hope that my feeble efforts may not prove entirely abortive.

I remain with due respect,

SIR,

Your devoted servant,

CIVIS.

To Sir JOHN SHORE, Bart.

Oude, Sept. 9, 1793.

SIR,

HAVING treated of the civil government of Oude, I shall now consider the Vizier's dominions in a military point of view, and as the barrier to the Company's provinces, which they have very justly been denominated.

It is a fact not more extraordinary than true, that the dominions of the Company and the Vizier are so situated, that the force requisite for their defence when united, would, were they separated, be barely adequate to the defence of either; for were a nation hostile to the Company in possession of the Vizier's dominions, the Company would find their present force insufficient (without a body of cavalry) to defend their western frontier; while, on the other hand, such nation having an extensive frontier to the south and west, as well as to the east, would find it necessary also to keep up a very formidable army of foot and horse, but particularly the latter, to oppose the sudden incursions of the southern and western neighbours, whose forces principally consist of cavalry.

That these matters have not passed without the knowledge of the Company, a reference to their correspondence regarding the country (Oude) will shew, and particularly the utility and necessity of cavalry. The Court of Directors, in their letter to the Governor General and Council, of the 15th of December, 1775,

Say—Par. 20th. “ And as a good body of horse would not only be of
 “ great use in time of action, but also of singular
 “ service in preventing the incursions of Indian ene-
 “ mies, who frequently ravage the country with ca-
 “ valry, and retire before infantry can come up
 “ with them, we should deem it an essential service
 “ rendered the Company, if you would prevail on
 “ the Nabob of Oude to keep up a body of horse to
 “ be disciplined and officered by Europeans under
 “ our command.”

With ideas so very just on the subject as the Company possessed at such an early period, it must appear extraordinary that so great a space of time should have been suffered to elapse without some effectual effort to establish a corps of cavalry on a permanent basis, and it can only be accounted for by the general attention of the Company and the nation at large, being entirely engrossed by

by the troubles and dangers in the Dekan, which at one time seem to threaten the loss of the possessions in that quarter ; but these dangers being now happily dissipated, may we not hope that those to which their possessions are exposed on this side of India will obtain a due degree of consideration.

To form a just idea of them, it will be necessary to consider, 1st. the extent of frontier, the natural barriers which it presents to eventual enemies, and the number and nature of the troops provided for its defence ; and next the policy and dispositions of the neighbouring nations, their troops, and the progress they have made in the military art.

The Vizier's dominions having the Company's provinces to the east, and the Tibet mountains to the north, (which form an impenetrable barrier) are only exposed to invasion from the south and west : this boundary extends from Illahabad to Hurdowar, a space of about 500 miles ; from Illahabad to Etyah, 240 miles, the Jumna forms a feeble barrier, for being in many places fordable during the dry season, and in all parts narrow, cavalry would find little difficulty in crossing it, plundering the country, destroying the harvest, and recrossing, without infantry having it in their power to molest them : but the Jumna, from Etyah upward, being in all parts fordable for the greatest part of the year, if cavalry that had crossed lower down found themselves pressed by infantry, they could always make their way upward, cross the Jumna, and be in perfect security. From the Jumna, near Etyah, to the Ganges at Ramgaut, 140 miles, the boundary takes an oblique direction across the Dooab ; this space is entirely open and defenceless. From Ramgaut to Hurdowar, 140 miles, the Ganges forms the boundary ; (except the district of Anoopsheher, which lies to the west of the river) but being in all parts fordable for cavalry, from November to July, it must be considered more an ideal than a real barrier. For the defence of this weak and extended line, two brigades of infantry are stationed on the banks of the Ganges, eighty miles distant from each other, and sixty miles from the nearest part of the frontier ; from one of these brigades a detachment of two or three battalions is annually made to Anoopsheher during the dry season, to protect Rohilcund from the incursions of the Seicks. A few wretched cavalry, which the Vizier maintains in Rohilcund, are not deserving of notice as defensive troops, and the number of the Company's is so very trifling, that in the event of an invasion they could never act out of sight of their infantry. From this view of the frontier, it must appear evident even to the most cursory observer, that the present means of defence are totally inadequate ; but it will appear in a still stronger point of view when the policy of our southern and western neighbours is considered, the state of their troops, and the progress which they have made in the art of war.

All the countries on the Vizier's southern and western frontiers are now in the possession of the Mahrattahs, a warlike and restless people, who have for centuries disturbed the peace of Hindostan. History informs us that conquest
I has

has been invariably their object; that they sedulously watch every opportunity of extending their dominion, is notorious to this day; and were it not for the troops of Europe, they would in all probability, ere this, have subdued every country on this side the Indus. That they have dormant claims on the Vizier's country, and on the Company's provinces, which they revive as occasions offer, the demands made through Major Brown (when ambassador at the court of the unfortunate Shah Allum) proves to conviction.

Since the peace of 1782, the extension of their empire on this side of India is truly alarming. Mahajee Scindia has conquered the country of Golam Kader Khan, (son to Zabeta Khan) possessed himself of all the countries dependent on Delhy and Agra, and subjected the Rajepoot Rajahs of Gein Ghur Joudpore, &c. Ally Bahauder, another Mahrattah chief, has subjugated the countries of Bundel Cund and Bughil Cund: these acquisitions have given the Mahrattah empire complete possession of every country from Mirzapore to the Commow hills at Hurdowar. The former of these chiefs is a deep, designing politician, whose views are not easily penetrated: the latter is less reserved, having been frequently heard to declare, that with ten thousand horse he could with ease plunder the Dooab. The efforts our infantry could make to prevent it he ridicules. Fortunately for this country these chiefs have been at variance; so that circumstance it is, perhaps, more indebted for the peace which it enjoys, than to any dread the Mahrattahs have of our power. The former and the late war have disclosed to them the secret wherein their advantage lies over us. They have seen our unwieldy armies of infantry and artillery (unconquerable but by famine) unable to move without the assistance of cavalry; and they well know, that though they cannot face us in the field, they can, by cutting off our convoys and intercepting our supplies, compel us at all times to retire: but though the Mahrattah forces have hitherto consisted of cavalry, and that they are perfectly sensible of the advantages they derive therefrom over our infantry, yet have they not been inattentive to the additional advantages of disciplined artillery and infantry, as many of the chiefs* have shewn, by taking into their service Europeans for the purpose of forming and disciplining regular corps; among these Mahajee Scindia stands first as having made the greatest progress. The army which he has formed under the direction of M. de Boigne, to whom he has given the rank of general, consists of regular infantry divided into brigades and battalions under the command of † French officers of experience and abilities. A corps of regular artillery, at the head of which is a German officer of abilities, formerly in the Company's service on the coast. A corps of regular cavalry (which as yet only amounts to about 1000 men) commanded by a French officer; and the whole is in all respects appointed, clothed, and disciplined like European troops:—neither attention nor expense

* The Bow, Hurry Punt, Mahajee Scindia, Tukoo Jee Hulkar, and Ally Behauder, among others.

† Brigadier Fremont, formerly commandant of the French Troops at Chandernagore; Brigadier Perron, &c. &c. &c.

has been spared by Scindia in the formation of these corps; every European who has a pretension to the rank of gentleman, is admitted into his service as an officer, and promoted according to his merit and abilities. This encouragement has drawn to his service numerous adventurers from Great Britain, the continent of Europe, and America, whereby he has been able to give a tolerable proportion of European officers to each corps—he encourages mechanics from the Vizier's dominions, and even assists personally in casting cannon and making fire arms: since he has been in the Dekan, he has purchased at Goa and different places on the Malabar coast, brass ordnance and musketry, and keeps agents there solely for that purpose; these arms he sends as occasion offers to his regular troops: he has likewise entertained Europeans, sufficient with what he had before, to form a corps of about three hundred strong. Five years are now elapsed since he commenced the formation of his regular troops, and in that time they have been paid with the utmost punctuality. He well knows, that to a similar conduct the Company are indebted in a great measure for the attachment and fidelity of their sepoys, and so well convinced is he of the necessity of the measure, that he has, since being detained in the Dekan, given M. de Boigne assignments on the revenues of all the countries east of the Jumna, and some districts between Muttra and Delhi, for their payment; these countries being in the most settled state, and the revenue most productive.

The regular corps form but an inconsiderable part of his army, as will appear by the annexed statement, as it stood the 1st of January, 1793; since that period the regulars have been increasing gradually; and, with the increase and improvement of the European officers, bid fair to arrive soon at a considerable degree of perfection in their discipline. Supported by so considerable a body of irregular cavalry, they are already truly formidable, and how much more so they may become it is not difficult to foresee, nor can those who have the prosperity of the Company's possessions at heart reflect on it with indifference; it must create in every reflecting mind a degree of solicitude and concern, particularly when the defenceless state of the Vizier's frontier is considered, and the apathy and supineness, with which not only the Vizier, but the Bengal Government, view the progress their neighbours are making in discipline, and war-like preparations.

The Seicks, though not immediately bordering on the Vizier's country, must be considered in the general view as eventual enemies, having almost annually attempted depredations on Rohilcund. The diligence with which they seized the opportunity offered by the withdrawing the Futtyghur detachment, in 1785, of entering Rohilcund, and plundering Chundowsey and several trading towns of note, as well as the attempts they made in December 1790, when they understood a considerable number of our troops had been withdrawn from the Vizier's country, on account of the war in the Dekan, clearly demonstrate their disposition, and the eagerness with which they watch opportunities to enrich themselves by plunder. These tribes, inhabiting a more northern
H climate,

climate, are more robust and better able to bear hardships than the southern inhabitants of Hindostan; their country also produces a better race of horses, so that, as irregular cavalry, they are more formidable: they have as yet made no improvements in discipline, but the natural advantages they possess, in some degree, compensate for the want of it, and with the avidity they have for depredation, make them very dangerous neighbours, in the event of a war with the Mahrattas. The desire of plunder brings down innumerable hordes on Rohilcund and the upper parts of Dooab, which our present forces are not calculated to repel.

From what has been said it is evident, that infantry, unsupported by a respectable body of cavalry, is totally inadequate to the defence of so extended a frontier as the Nabob Vizier's dominions present to the Mahrattas and Seicks. It must likewise be obvious, that the means of defence, in sound policy, ought to keep pace with the improvements in discipline, and the warlike preparations of our neighbours, and that the present improved state of their troops points out, in the most forcible manner, the urgent necessity for not only a large and formidable body of cavalry, but for a very considerable increase of infantry.

The experience of every war we have had in India, but particularly the two last, has shewn, that our existence as a power in this country, in a great measure, depends on them; every one knows how ineffectual the gallant efforts of Sir Eyre Coote and his army were rendered, by the want of cavalry, during the former war, and that the detachment under Colonel Camac was harassed and compelled to retreat, though victorious, by the Mahratta Pindarees.* In every situation, when our troops have acted without cavalry, the same consequences have invariably ensued; had there not been a body of cavalry in the late war, the movements of the army must have been as much cramped as it was under Sir Eyre Coote, and the war might have terminated as ingloriously. The eminent services which they rendered, (though a small body) are on record from the first authority; the same high authority records the inefficient services of those of the Mahrattas and Nizam in our pay, and shews the dependence which is to be placed on such as we can hire from Native powers; in their own cause they are forward and active, in our's, they will ever be found backward and sluggish; could the money which was paid for their assistance have been employed in establishing a body of cavalry, either in the Vizier's or the Company's dominions, at a proper season, a sufficient reinforcement might have joined the army, on the coast, at an early period of the war, and by bringing it to a speedy termination, perhaps, have saved some millions to the state, and the lives of many valuable subjects.

* A banditti that attend all Indian armies merely for the sake of plunder at their own expense and risk, picking up all stragglers, and often cutting off small convoys of provisions. On the coast of Coromandel they are commonly called Looties, that is, plunderers.

The season for establishing a corps of cavalry is again arrived, and if again neglected, may not only involve the safety of the Vizier's dominions, but endanger the Company's possessions in India. That such establishment may be permanent, it must be formed on the strictest principles of œconomy; to form it on such principles, the first and most material step necessary to be taken, is to introduce a breed of horses into your own provinces sufficient to maintain the number of cavalry required; and the period of profound peace is surely the most proper season for the adoption of such a measure.

In the event of a war with the Mahrattas, and the union of their power on this side of India under one chief, (which is certainly not impossible) the most serious consequences might be apprehended, possessed (as I have shewn they are) of all the frontier countries from Mirzapore to the Commow Hills, and their territories extending from Sirhind (north lat. 31°) to the Gulph of Cambay, they have it in their power to prevent a single horse from coming into the Vizier's dominions, and, as hitherto these countries and the northern horse-merchants have supplied what were wanted, either for cavalry or private purposes, it would be found impracticable, if this source was stopped, either to hire or raise a corps: this circumstance alone shews the obvious necessity of not only forming a corps of cavalry, but of an immediate attempt to introduce the breeding of horses generally throughout the Vizier's country, and the Company's provinces. That it is practicable, every man of information on the subject, and that is acquainted with the climate and soil, will vouch; and that it will be of great advantage to the country, by retaining considerable sums of money which are annually sent abroad for the purchase of horses, is perfectly manifest.

The policy and expediency of these measures have, I trust, been made so evident, as to require the aid of no farther argument; and I now proceed to demonstrate, that the carrying into immediate effect the seventh article of the plan, (in my last letter) for the regulation of the government of Oude, would, instead of being any additional expense, be a saving to the Vizier of near forty lacks of rupees per annum; be of infinite benefit to the country, by retaining in circulation near eighteen lacks of rupees, the balance of the subsidy which is annually drawn from it, and place the Company's army on a footing of respectability that must insure permanence to the peace of Hindostan.

The annual expense (as has been shewn) of the Nabob Vizier's				Lucknow Rupees.
Mutayenna troops is	-	-	-	75,00,000
The subsidy paid to the Company for their troops is	-	-	-	50,00,000
Total, one crore and twenty-five lacks				1,25,00,000

The total expense of all the Company's troops now in the				
Vizier's dominions, including cavalry, artillery, European				
and Native infantry, staff, stores, cattle, buildings, &c. &c.				
amount annually to about	-		Carried over	32,00,000
				The

	Brought over	Lucknow Rupees.
The expenſe of a ſepoy brigade in the field is, per month, about 70,000 rupees, including the ſtaff, &c. ſo that the two additional ſepoy brigades recommended to be raiſed may be eſtimated at ſeventeen lacks per annum	- -	32,00,000
The expenſe of a regiment of cavalry of 500 men, on the preſent ſyſtem, will be, per month, under 20,000 rupees, (including feeding and all contingencies); ſix regiments, or one brigade, including ſtaff, may be eſtimated at one lack and 30,000 rupees per month; and two brigades of cavalry, recommended to be raiſed, may be eſtimated at per annum	- - - -	17,00,000
		31,00,000
	Sicca rupees	80,00,000
To this increaſe of cavalry and infantry it will be neceſſary to add ſome artillery, ſuppoſe what is at preſent in the field increaſed to a complete battalion, (in room of which a fourth might be formed in Bengal) an allowance of five lacks per annum may be made for the increaſe of expenſe and all contingencies in this department	- -	5,00,000
	Sicca rupees	85,00,000
Total expenſe of twelve regiments of cavalry, one battalion of artillery, one regiment of European infantry, twenty-four battalions of ſepoys, ſtaff, &c. in the field, eighty-five lacks of Lucknow rupees per annum.		
There will remain a ſaving of forty lacks	- -	40,000,000
	Sicca rupees	1,25,00,000

On the above ſtatement it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that the eſtimate will be found to exceed the actual expenſe, (as can be aſcertained with exactneſs by applying to the proper offices) and that the heavy expenſe of raiſing a body of 6000 cavalry may be obviated by proceeding in it gradually, adding three or four regiments annually as horſes can be procured: the demand will increaſe the influx from the north-weſt, and facilitate the acquiſition of blood mares proper for eſtabliſhing ſtuds in the provinces of the Company and the Vizier. The expenſe of theſe ſtuds might be defrayed from the balance, which I am confident will accrue from the eſtimated ſum of eighty-five lacks per annum, for the complete eſtabliſhment of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, in the interim the balance will be conſiderable, viz.

The established annual expense of two complete brigades of cavalry is	-	-	Rupees 31,00,000
1st year.—Deduct for the purchase of 1,600 horses to complete the present cavalry to four regiments, at 400 rupees per horse	-	-	6,40,000
Pay, &c. for four regiments, as estimated, supposing them complete	-	-	10,30,000
			<hr/> 16,70,000
		Remains rupees	14,30,000
2d year.—The estimated annual expenses of two complete brigades of cavalry is	-	-	31,00,000
			<hr/>
For the expenses of the second year, forty-five lacks, and thirty thousand rupees	-	-	45,30,000
Deduct for the purchase of 2,000 horses, at 400 rupees	-	-	8,00,000
Pay, &c. for eight regiments, as per estimate	-	-	20,60,000
			<hr/> 28,60,000
		Remains rupees	16,70,000
3d year.—The estimated annual expense of two brigades of cavalry	-	-	31,00,000
			<hr/>
For the expenses of the third year, forty-seven lacks and seventy thousand rupees	-	-	47,70,000
Deduct for the purchase of 2,000 horses	-	-	8,00,000
Pay, &c. for twelve regiments	-	-	31,00,000
			<hr/> 39,00,000
		Sicca rupees	<hr/> 8,70,000

There remains eight lacks and seventy thousand rupees for purchasing studs of mares, exclusive of such other further savings as may arise from the eighty-five lacks of rupees.

How far the measures which have been recommended may be for the good of the state, or whether they are supported by sound policy and wisdom, is left to your decision.

In exposing the evils of the internal government, and the dangers with which the state is threatened from without, I conceive I have discharged the duty of a good citizen,

And am, with due respect,

Your devoted Servant,

CIVIS.

An

*An Abstract of the Mahratta Army stationed in Hindostan.**

Cavalry of different denominations	-	-	-	88,250
Forty-five battalions, regular and irregular, from 5 to 750 strong, average 600	-	-	-	27,000
European infantry	-	-	-	190
Several small irregular bodies of horse, in all	-	-	-	10,500
			Total	<u>125,940</u>
Guns of different calibers in the field	-	-	-	<u>362</u>

Of the above army General de Boigne has under his command,
 12 Battalions Sepoys, clothed and armed like the Company's,
 4 Battalions Native artillery (regular) with clashees attached, &c.
 4 Battalions of Nigibs, with matchlocks,
 2 Battalions of Dummuckdars, large matchlocks,
 1000 Regular cavalry,
 90 Europeans,
 120 Pieces of brass cannon.

* All the countries north of the province of Malwa they term Hindostan, and all to the south Dekan.

*To CIVIS.**Futtyghur, July 15, 1793.*

SIR,

I HAVE perused with attention your letter to Sir John Shore, Bart. on the declining state of the dominions of the Nabob Vizier of Oude, and as I have had in the course of service in that country, many opportunities of acquiring a pretty general knowledge of it, I must declare that I think the account you give is faithful and just, as far as you go; but at the same time I deem myself bound by truth and justice to assert, that you have touched some evils too lightly, and passed others truly interesting, without notice; how far it comes within the design of your letters to enter into a minute description of the hardships which the poorer class of people of Oude groan under, I cannot take upon me to say, but it is a melancholy subject, deserving of your early and most serious consideration.

The farmers or ryots are, in every country except this, considered as the most useful class of inhabitants, and have the first claims to protection and encouragement; but in the Vizier's dominions they seem as if destined, and peculiarly marked out for oppression. The farmer at the commencement of the season engages in this, as in other countries of India, to cultivate a certain portion of land at a fixed rate, as may be agreed on with the Aumil; if from drought, or any other cause, the crop fails, the sum he has agreed for is extorted from him with the utmost inhumanity: his cattle, the implements of husbandry, and even his children, are seized and sold to make it up. Should the season turn out well, and the crop abundant, the ryot is not suffered to enjoy the kind blessings of Heaven, the myrmidons of the Aumil seize it, on some pretence, and leave the unprotected farmer but a scanty pittance for his support, without paying the least regard to the agreement that has been made; so as the flinty-hearted Aumil procures money to stop the mouth of some greedy Cerberus at court, in order to secure an interest to avert his being plundered on his removal, as is the custom, he cares little by what means it is acquired, or what injury it may do the country, being never sure of remaining more than one season, and actuated solely by the spirit of rapacity and oppression, in which he has been bred up from his infancy.

In the march to and from Anoopstheer, the desolate state of Rohilcund excited the astonishment of every officer of the detachment, but particularly those who had seen it before, and compared it with what it had been; the places which I saw populous and flourishing when in this country with the army formerly, are now deserted and in ruins. This extraordinary change naturally excited my curiosity, and I was particular in inquiring of the few inhabitants

bitants that remained in the different towns and villages we passed, whence it arose; they were by no means backward in giving the information I desired, and the above causes they invariably assigned, “who will think of cultivating the ground under such oppression,” said a venerable old man, “we merely plough a spot that will produce sufficient to keep us alive; if we do more, it is seized and taken from us by force, by violence, by cruelty; why do not the English come and take possession of the country for themselves? If we were cherished as the Bengallies are, this would soon be a fine country; it would produce upwards of a crore of rupees yearly, whereas scarce thirty lacks are now collected. The country, Sir, is yours; the English ought to be its masters—you have conquered it; were it not for you, we would soon have a good government, as we had before—we would not suffer that”—Here he poured out a torrent of invectives in the severest terms of language on the Nabob Vizier, much too violent to repeat.—“Though you do not oppress us yourselves, it is done under your authority, and you are answerable to God by the laws of the prophets for delivering us over to cruelty and pillage, as much as if you did it yourselves. The * *Sahib log of Calcutta* are just, and if they knew our condition, we are sure they would alter the country and relieve us. We hope you will represent it to them; you see what a fine country it is, if it was cultivated as formerly; you know the soil produces wheat, barley, and all kinds of grain in greater abundance than any other country in Hindostan; the rice near the hills is so fine that you send it down as presents to Bengal; but above all, represent that the great number of rivers which intersect our country, supplies such a plenty of water as to enable us to cultivate indigo, opium, and sugar, to send to your Willaiet, (meaning Europe) cheaper than they can get it at any place else: we would engage, in four or five years after the Company had the regulation of the country, to make ten thousand maunds of indigo every year, and give it to them at fifty rupees the maund; a lack of maunds of sugar, or as much more as they like, at four rupees the maund; and a large quantity of opium, at a very low price. Guzzeenas, and other cloths, we can make in plenty, and very cheap.” Thus have I heard not one alone say, but many in substance, and if you will listen to them, they will go on enumerating the produce of the country, and the advantage it would be to our government to take it into their own hands. The truth of these facts, and the justness of their observations and conclusions, are clear. All that I have commonly said was, that I would mention the subject among all my friends, when our brigade went to Calcutta; that they must be patient, that something would doubtless be done to relieve them. There is no man in India better acquainted with the state of the country than our commanding † officer, and as it was the constant theme of conversation, I have sometimes ventured to hint the propriety of his representing it to Government, but he considered it not in the precise line of his

* Meaning the members of government, and the English gentlemen in general residing there.

† We apprehend our intelligent correspondent means Lieutenant-colonel Erskine.

duty to do it voluntarily, and that nothing but a requisition from the Council would justify him in doing it; there is much propriety in the objection, though I have often lamented that it should obtain, in a case of such importance, as a representation coming from a man of his information and knowledge would command due consideration. But to return to my subject; by the causes above assigned, three-fourths of the inhabitants have been drove out of the country; the army under M. de Boigne, in the service of Mahah Jee Scindia, is almost entirely composed of Rohillas, and his corps are continually recruiting from Rohilcund. Of the inhabitants who still remain in the country, many have entirely given up all idea of cultivation, and subsist by robbery alone, and the roads are therefore so much infested by them, that there is no travelling without a strong guard. On our march we were obliged to be as circumspect as if in an enemy's country. The day we left Ragepore Ghaut, a party of unfortunate people, whom oppression has thus driven to desperation, attacked some camp-followers on our flank, and killed and wounded nine men; an unfortunate grass-cutter, who had not to the value of eight annas about him, cloaths and all, was cut almost in two by the blow of a Tulwar*. This shews how savage and desperate, hunger, and want of protection, will make men; but in this respect Rohilcund is not singular, murders and robberies are frequent in every corner of the Vizier's dominions; even in the vicinity of our camps they are daily committed.

Having shewn you part of what I have seen and know of the state of the country, which I but just passed through, as far as it has come within my knowledge and view; I think you are convinced that many parts of it are in a much worse and more wretched condition than you have represented. For the truth of what I say, I appeal to the officers of the detachment, and I trust the hint will induce you to do justice to the subject in the future letters you have proposed to write. I will conclude by submitting to your consideration two propositions: First, whether it would not be of great advantage to the Company, and the Nabob Vizier, that the latter should cede to the former the country of Rohilcund, as he did Benares, in lieu of the subsidy for maintaining the troops? as the Nabob hardly realizes thirty lacks of rupees per annum from it, he would be a considerable gainer thereby, and the Company would not be less so; for under their management the revenue would double or treble in a few years, besides producing large quantities of indigo, opium, sugar, saltpetre, and cloths for their investments, and happiness to a brave tribe of men, in attaching them to their country by protecting agriculture.

Second, whether it would not be of mutual advantage to the Company and the Nabob Vizier, that the latter should give up the entire management of his country (if it can properly be called his, when it ought to revert to the Mogul at his demise) to the former, and receive from them in lieu, or as rent, one crore of rupees per annum for himself, his household, and family? this would be a million of pounds sterling, as much as the King of Great Britain receives, and

* Scymetar.

is nearly double what the Nabob receives at present from his ministers. It ought not to dissatisfy him to have his allowance doubled, and be put on a footing with the richest, and one of the greatest monarchs on earth. The Company would be great gainers also; they might by good management increase the revenues to upwards of three crore of rupees per annum; set one apart for the Nabob, one for the civil government and army, and one would remain to invest in the produce of the country, viz. cloths of various kinds, indigo, opium, sugar, &c. &c. &c. In my apprehension this last would be a noble plan, and worthy the wisdom of our government to adopt; I leave it entirely to you to urge it in whatever mode you think most eligible.

That success may attend your generous endeavours is the sincere wish, as I trust I have shewn in this, and will in future efforts, of

(Signed) MILES.

P. S. Since writing the above, a very intelligent man who resides at Barrelly, and with whom I had much conversation on the subject of the trade of the country, sent for my information, and to convince me of the arbitrary, detestable, and pernicious conduct of the Aumils, an authentic copy of an order under the seal of Hussen Ally Khan, Naib or Deputy to the Aumil of Rohilcund, Mindee Ally Khan, addressed to Mahtab Chowderee, and Sew Loll, collectors of the duties, to this effect, "That hearing that several Europeans had sent their agents into the country to establish * cotees, and purchase sugar, he, in the name of the Aumil, most positively prohibited it, without their first having obtained his permission; that Rohilcund being excluded from the commercial treaty with the Governor-general of Calcutta, they had no right to trade there, and the duties to be levied were optional with him; that such as he permitted to purchase sugar in the country were to pay the same duties as the † beparees and retailers in the different bazars, &c." This duty, he observes, is from two to three rupees per bag, or about twenty per cent. which amounts nearly to a prohibition, and will put a stop entirely to the cultivation of sugar there. He further adduced as an argument to prove how much the Vizier hated Rohilcund, and studied its ruin, its being excluded from the benefits of the commercial treaty, and left at the mercy of a hard-hearted Aumil! Is it possible that Rohilcund was meant to be excluded from the benefits of the commercial treaty? and if it is, I am at a loss to discover upon what principle. ‡ Mr. Ives perhaps can tell; indeed, I have always heard that the treaty itself was the reverse of advantageous to the trade either of the Vizier's dominions or the Company's provinces; but certainly the treaty has this advantage, that a fixed rate of duties, however high and inexpedient, is better than an arbitrary one.

* Houses of trade.

† Itinerant merchants, who supply towns and camps with provisions, &c.

‡ The English resident at Lucknow.

To the PRINTER.

Oude, July 20, 1793.

SIR,

IN your paper of Saturday, June 2, I perused with much satisfaction a letter addressed to Sir John Shore, Bart. As the author displays considerable knowledge of his subject, I am willing to suppose him competent to complete the task he has assigned to himself, yet I fear he has too long deferred stepping forth to seek a remedy for the innumerable evils under which the people of these provinces already suffer, or to prevent others with which the wretched policy of the Court of Oude is pregnant. To detail as much of these as fall within my own knowledge, would carry me far beyond the limits of a newspaper; and if *Civis* proceeds, it would be presumption in me to anticipate him on a subject which he has brought forward with so much candor and ability. I trust, however, he will excuse me, when I venture to assure him, that deplorable as is the state of Goruckpore, and the districts in the vicinity of Bahar, they are yet, compared with Rohilcund, rich in culture and population.

In the year 1774 I acted with the army in Rohilcund, and was, in common with my brother officers, equally pleased and surprised at the rich and flourishing state of the country, and the contented situation of its numerous inhabitants: every march afforded us ample testimony of the government's attention to the welfare of the subject: on all the public roads, which were in high repair, were spacious stone walls, at the distance of about three miles from each other, with seats of accommodation to afford rest and refreshment to the weary traveller; and over many of the innumerable rivers and water courses, that pour down from the hills, we found stone bridges, generally consisting of from seven to eleven arches; in short, so different was the aspect of this country from every other we had seen in India, that while we were exerting our utmost endeavours to suppress the dangerous and aspiring power of the Rohillas, we were compelled to admire the policy, the wisdom, and the liberality of their government.

Shortly after the treaty of Loldong I returned into the Company's provinces, and until very lately had not an opportunity of re-visiting Rohilcund. Much has been said by a Member of the House of Commons of its ruinous and depopulated state; but being in my own mind fully persuaded that no measures, however impolitic at the time, or destructive they might be in their tendency, could in the lapse of so few years, effectually ruin a country so rich and flourishing as was Rohilcund, I ever considered the assertions of that Gentleman,
partly

partly the offspring of his prolific fancy, and partly as originating in interested views and misrepresentations.

Fraught with these ideas, I lately accompanied a party to re-visit the field in which I made my first essay in arms, and thence to retrace our former footsteps to that disastrous spot where so many brave soldiers fell inglorious, the victims of an inhospitable clime. What were my feelings after I had penetrated some distance in Rohilcund? I have not language to express, nor can imagination conceive, a more deplorable contrast than the whole face of the country exhibited: most of the wells are fallen in, and of those that remain, many are obscured by the thick jungles* which now overspread the ample high roads of the Rohillas, leaving little more than a foot-path, scarcely marked by the trace of a passenger: some of the bridges are yet passable, while by far the greater number exhibit only a few mouldering piers, the melancholy monuments of departed splendour; long rank grass, and reeds, now wave over the extensive plains, which then displayed the golden ear in luxurious profusion. Many of the populous villages that we passed on our march in 1774, are now wholly deserted, and become the retreats of wild beasts, destructive to mankind. The splendid palaces of the Rohillas are fallen to decay. Their cities, so lately the scenes of opulence and happiness, are humbled to the dust, and their scattered inhabitants immersed in penury and woe.† Such, Sir, is the unexaggerated picture of that once rich and flourishing, but now miserable, country.

Being naturally of an inquisitive disposition, whenever I am on a march I seek society among the natives, interest myself in their concerns, inquire about the produce of their crops, and into the character of their Aumil or Collector; in this excursion, following up my old habits, I conversed with many who had seen better days; who had been nourished under the fostering government of the Rohillas; in tones of voice strongly expressive of sorrow and dismay, and actually with tears in their eyes, they spoke of past comfort, and deprecated the ills they yet foreboded: many with anxious solicitude inquired, when would the Company take the management of the country into their own hands? an event which they are firmly persuaded will some time come to pass, and they appear to anticipate it with uncommon satisfaction. They are not ignorant of the

* Thickets.

† The following circumstance will convey some idea of the wretched state of the police in their cities:—Previous to our setting out for this tour, I thought it prudent to procure a hoondy (bill of exchange) for a few hundred rupees, on a banker in one of the principal cities in Rohilcund; this, when presented, was accepted; but the banker requested of me to wait until dark for the cash, that it might be conveyed to my tent without the circumstance being known to the inhabitants of the city; to this request I readily assented; but as it appeared to me extremely singular, I inquired of the man what were his motives for it? he without hesitation replied, that the few bankers who reside in that city, are obliged to keep their treasure in a secret deposit, and to take advantage of the night to draw forth such sums as circumstances require: he added, that a party of English gentlemen, who passed the same road a few months before, whose demands upon the bankers far exceeded mine, had for the same reason been detained two days:—between the hours of nine and ten at night the cash was delivered with all possible secrecy.

many comforts enjoyed by the Ryots* in the Company's provinces, and the hope that under the influence of the same lenient laws and regulations, they shall soon be in a state as enviable, is their only consolation under their present oppressive burthen of accumulated ills.

In justice to Mirza Mindy Alli,† the Aumil of Rohilcund, I deem it necessary to say, that the inhabitants of that country spoke of him as no worse than his predecessor, and while the same system of venality and corruption shall be pursued at the Court of Oude, they can have little hope of amendment by a change; yet it is but too true, that whenever I mentioned his name, it appeared to strike my hearers with as much horror, as would the sound of a whirlwind in its approach to sweep before it their few and scanty crops; or as the apprehension of a pestilential disease that would exterminate their whole race.

Signed, PHIL0 CIVIS.

* Husbandmen.

† One day in the midst of a conversation I had with an old gentleman in Bereilly, on the affairs of Rohilcund, "I knew," said he, "Mirza Mindy Alli, when he had not means sufficient to procure even a tattoo pony, and I gave him a horse; though few years have rolled down the tide of time since that period, I have been plundered of my all, and am reduced to poverty; while he, surrounded by five thousand attendants, rides in a silver hounda carriage fastened on the back of the elephant, too elevated to look into the valley of past favours, and I suffer in common with the rest of my unfortunate countrymen: such is the difference of our destiny! but God is Great."

To CIVIS.

SIR,

✓ YOUR valuable letters to Sir John Shore, Bart. on the state of the Vizier's country, which have lately appeared in the World, have excited, in an uncommon degree, the attention of the officers, and indeed all the European gentlemen now in his dominions. The continuation of the subject is looked for with an eagerness and anxiety, so highly flattering to you, that I trust you will not abandon it, but soon again resume the pen which you have wielded with so much judgment and discretion. The minds of all have been turned to inquire into the facts you have stated, and they are not less astonished at the moderation and accuracy with which you have treated them, than that they should so long have passed unrectified by the government of Bengal.

To the avidity for information on the subject which you have caused, the public are indebted for the republication of the following letter; in it the leading features in the Lucknow government are justly delineated, and an act portrayed, which, for injustice and cool-blooded cruelty, stands unequalled in the annals of Hindostan; every Briton who reads it must feel his blood chilled with horror; he must feel mortified in the extreme to think, that this act of barbarous butchery was perpetrated under the eye of the representative of our government, and apparently with his concurrence; for his refusing to interfere in behalf of the unfortunate victims must be so construed. I will not make farther comments. I leave to the justice and humanity of my countrymen to decide, how far the author of this savage act of cruelty and injustice is worthy of the support and friendship of our nation, and how far it is implicated in the guilt, by conferring and maintaining the power by which such deeds are committed. None can be surprised, after hearing of this act, to find that anarchy and devastation should mark the progress of his government; but let us hope that it is near amendment, and that the generous and humane exertions of CIVIS will remove the veil from the eyes of the Bengal government, and impress on their minds the necessity of a reform, such as will avert the impending ruin which threatens this devoted country and its afflicted inhabitants; every man who is actuated by the tender feelings of humanity, and whose heart yearns for the miseries of his fellow creatures, must pray for such an event, and none more fervently than

Calcutta, Aug. 20, 1793.

(Signed) A BRITON.

To

To the Hon. WARREN HASTINGS, Esq. Governor-General, &c. &c. &c.

Camp near Etarva, February 25, 1776.

HON. SIR AND SIRS,

I AM sorry to mention a disagreeable event which happened yesterday.

The Nabob has dismissed Meer Afzul's corps, which had been stationed on the other side the Jumna, for some time past, with the Gossaines. There were five months arrears of pay due to them, which his Excellency engaged they should have in fifteen days; the men considered this delay an artifice to deprive them of their right, refused to admit of it, and 4000 of them marched from their station to within six cofs of our camp. The day after their arrival the Nabob went in person among them, and thought he had settled the whole affair, for only a part of the pay, on the receipt of which they were to give up their cannon and arms, and to disperse. The person employed by his Excellency in conducting the negotiation had carried false messages, and when the Nabob found the next day, that the matchlock-men would not give up their arms, he resolved on cutting them all to pieces: I heard this by chance at ten o'clock at night, and immediately waited on him to dissuade him from it, as it was an act that could not do him any credit. He urged their disobedience of orders in leaving their stations contrary to his injunction, and that if after he had settled the matter once, and they refused to abide by what they had agreed to, and he suffered their conduct to pass unnoticed, his army would be constantly in actual mutiny; I answered, he must expect it unless he paid them; and represented, in the strongest terms I could, that his cutting them to pieces would disaffect his troops in general, and that I thought it probable they would not fight in such a cause, as they might naturally say, the same would be their situation another time: I observed, on these occasions there were a few who spirited the rest; and recommended to his Excellency to pick out those men and punish them, but to pay and dismiss all those who had no other hand in the mutiny, than being led into it by persuasion and ignorance of the consequences. I sat with his Excellency till one o'clock in the morning without being able to dissuade him from his resolution; he therefore ordered his minister to march against them early the next morning with about 15,000 men, with directions, that if they gave up their arms, and accepted of about 20,000 rupees, he would suffer them to go away unmolested; otherwise, there should not be a man of them left alive. The matchlock-men would gladly have compounded for part of their pay, when about two lacks were due to them, but they even doubted their obtaining the small sum that was offered after they

they had once grounded their arms; they were therefore rendered desperate, all treating was at an end, and they resolved on meeting their fate; out of 4000, 1500 refused to fight, and left the camp, so that the engagement was supported by 2500, who did every thing that men in their deplorable state could; they had been for some days past reduced to the greatest distress for the necessaries of life, were weak and terrified by the numbers they had to oppose.

Notwithstanding all the disadvantages they laboured under, the Nabob got the victory by a chance; he was repeatedly repulsed, some guns were even taken from him, his army put to the route, when a tumbril blew up, and threw the matchlock-men into confusion, upon which his Excellency's troops broke in upon them, and carried the day.

The Nabob had about 300 men killed; of the matchlock-men there were 600, many wounded, 800 taken prisoners, and released to-day; the rest escaped, as his Excellency's troops fought with ill-will, and suffered them to get away, otherwise a man could not have been saved.

The eleven old battalions, that is, those under Jao, Loll, and Buffant, who are formed into two brigades, were not in the engagement, but drew out when the news of the Nabob's troops having given way reached them. The men in general declared, it was not to attack the matchlock-men, they only meant to defend the camp. Upon the whole, this act, as might be expected, has given great discontent among the troops, and it is the general cry, that they are never to expect their pay, but when they can exact it. It is well known I advised the Nabob against the measure; and I flatter myself, the credit of the British nation was never at a higher pitch in this country than now. The Nabob's behaviour at Mindighaut is a striking contrast to that on the present occasion.

On my return from the Nabob, the night before the affair, a deputation of five of the matchlock-men presented me a petition, just as I entered my tent; which I refused to receive: I understood from them, that it contained a request for me to get them their pay. After what had passed I could not interfere further. I told them they were the Nabob's servants, and that the Company had nothing to do with them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. B.

President at the Court of
the Nabob of Oude.

F I N I S.

R E M A R K S,

&c. &c.

REMARKS

ON A PAMPHLET ENTITLED

“LETTERS, *Political, Military, and Commercial*, on the
“PRESENT STATE *and* GOVERNMENT of OUDE *and its*
“DEPENDENCIES.”

CONTAINING

A COPY AND EXPLANATION

OF THE

TREATY OF COMMERCE

BETWEEN

The East-India Company and the Nawaub Vizier ;

TOGETHER WITH

A SKETCH OF THE MEASURES TAKEN

During the Marquis CORNWALLIS's Government,

IN REGARD TO THE VIZIER.

BY EDWARD OTTO IVES,

LATE RESIDENT AT THE NAWAUB VIZIER'S COURT.

London :

Printed by COOPER and GRAHAM,
For J. DEBRET, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly.

1796.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author of the following Remarks having conceived that, in productions of this nature, it is only required to write plain truth with perspicuity, and in intelligible language, he flatters himself that all defects of stile, not incompatible with that idea, may meet with indulgence.

R E M A R K S,

©c. ©c.

SOME letters on the affairs of Oude which were printed in the Calcutta newspapers, under the signatures of Civis, Miles, and Philo Civis, a short time before I left India, having made their appearance in England in the form of a pamphlet, after receiving, as it is said in the advertisement prefixed, the approbation of the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Controul, I think myself called upon to state to the public my objections to several parts of them, that relate to Lord Cornwallis's Government. During the whole of that period, except the first twelve months, I filled the office of Resident at the Vizier's Court; and of what passed previous to my appointment, I had official information.

In regard to the state of the Vizier's dominions, at the time the letters were first published (for I know nothing of what changes may have since taken place) the frequent emigrations—the decline of cultivation—the deficiencies in the revenues—the insecurity of property—the frequency and impunity of robberies and murders—and the total want of police, and efficient Government, as well as in regard to the little prospect there then was that “either the Nawaub, or his Ministers, would voluntarily set about rectifying abuses, or establishing a regular system for the collection of the revenue, or the administration of justice, founded on the principles of reason and equity,” my sentiments entirely coincide with those of Civis.

The question, which next occurs, is whether, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, it be the duty of the Bengal Government to interfere in the internal management of the Vizier's territories, in such an effectual manner, as to secure a reform. Civis has urged some strong reasons on the affirmative side; and perhaps,

others of equal strength might be found : but there are, likewise, arguments on the negative side. It would be superfluous to dwell on the very obvious one, to which he himself alludes ; I mean the imputation of injustice, and breach of faith, which, either justly or unjustly, might, by such an interference, be brought on the Company, and the British nation. Another strong objection might be urged from the uncertainty of success in a work which must be entrusted to an agent or agents, placed at the distance of eight hundred, or a thousand miles from the Presidency, under the controul of which he is to act.

But, however, it may be decided in regard to the *future*, I have no scruple in declaring with respect to the *past*, my full conviction that the system observed by Lord Cornwallis (notwithstanding it may have failed of the beneficial effects, which were hoped for from it) was wise and politic : and that a contrary conduct would have been extremely unjust, and derogatory to our character ; as I shall endeavour to shew.

The late Nawaub Sujah ud Dowlah was to the day of his death universally considered as an independent Prince. By what steps, we were gradually led to concern ourselves with the internal Government of the dominions of his son and successor, the present Vizier, it would be superfluous to recapitulate. It is sufficient to observe that, ever since his accession to the Musnud, we had interfered in a considerable degree : that, at last, when his debt to the Company became so enormous, as to require and justify the strongest measures for its liquidation, we were looked upon as the real rulers of the country ; though the appearances, which the peculiarity of our situation obliged us to maintain, gave an opening for continual contests between the Vizier's Minister and the Company's Resident : and that during this kind of interference, his Excellency's affairs ran into that disorder, which is the usual effect of a divided Government ; the revenues decreased, commerce languished, and, in a word, the country was depopulated ; nor did there exist the shadow of police, or administration of justice. Without imputing blame to individuals, it was not unreasonable to attribute this deplorable situation of affairs to the *system*. So, at least, it seems to have appeared to Mr. Hastings, who, in his last journey to Lucnow, made a total alteration, by intrusting the whole management to his Excellency's Minister, Hyder Beg Khawn, and by relying solely on him for the realization of the Company's demands on his master. This change having been established, Mr. Hastings left India ; and matters were professedly continued on the same footing, till Lord Cornwallis's arrival. I say *professedly*, because it has been

thought that there was some secret influence, which left the Minister less free, than Mr. Hastings intended he should be. For Lord Cornwallis to have overturned this system on his arrival, must have been considered as rash and unjustifiable: nor could it have been done by halves. The responsibility must either have rested with the Minister, whose authority, that it might be competent to the execution of the duty which was expected from him, it would have been necessary to establish in the most complete manner: or the Company must have avowedly stood forth, and have taken the entire management into their own hands; subjecting themselves to the imputation of unjustly depriving the Nawaub of his dominions. Lord Cornwallis chose to preserve, and to strengthen the system, which he found established on the faith of Government: and in order to enable the Minister to exert himself effectually for the restoration of the country, and to render him justly responsible for neglect of duty, his Lordship determined to put a real stop to all kind of interference, on the part of the Company's agents, in the internal management; suggesting only to the Vizier and the Minister, such outlines of good government, as appeared to him necessary for accomplishing the great work: and happy had it been for the country, had these hints been attended to. At the same time, his Lordship eased the Vizier of a load of debt, which had been accumulating for years; stipulating that he should pay only the arrears actually due at that time to the civil and military establishments in his dominions; and fixing the future annual subsidy (including the stipend to the Nawaub Saudut Ally Khawn, the pensions to the Rohilla's, and the expences of the Residency) at the moderate sum of fifty lacs of Lucnow Sicca rupees, the estimated amount of the real expences incurred by the Company in consequence of their connection with his Excellency.

Civis seems to insinuate that the subsidy is much greater, than is sufficient to indemnify the Company for their services to the Vizier; "the total expence," he says, "of all the Company's troops now in the Vizier's dominions, including cavalry, artillery, European and native infantry, staff, stores, cattle, buildings, &c., &c., amount annually to about 32 lacs:" and in another place "by the subsidy, they receive for the payment of the troops to defend his dominions, they are enabled to keep up a very respectable force, and have a saving to defray the expences of their foreign wars." But, though I am not in possession of the necessary materials to prove it to the satisfaction of others, yet, as I very well recollect Lord Cornwallis's mentioning to me that the subsidy was so calculated, as to leave, after defraying the established and ordinary charges, but a very small surplus for the purpose of answering unforeseen con-

tingencies ; I have not a doubt, but, on consulting the proper offices, it would be found, that the Company receive from the Vizier no more, or at least, but a mere trifle more, than they expend on his account. Here it must be observed, that a very considerable proportion of the expenditures for the service of the troops in question, must be incurred for European stores, and other articles, provided from the Company's provinces. The proportion of the subsidy, therefore, which is required for such articles, is wanted in Calcutta ; and this accounts for the Vizier's paying eleven, out of the 50 lacs of rupees, by bills of exchange on Calcutta bankers ; which, by the way, are drawn on terms so favourable to his Excellency, that the Ministers greatly preferred that mode of paying it. Other remittances by bills of exchange are occasionally made by the Resident, when there happens to be any surplus in the treasury. Specie was never sent out of the Vizier's dominions, on the public account, during my Residency. I mean not, however, to insinuate that remittances by bills of exchange may not have the same effect in exhausting a state, as the actual exportation of money : but how far an annual drain, to the extent I have mentioned, may be productive of the evils set forth by Civis, I leave to others, more versed in such kind of speculations than I am, to determine. Were commerce encouraged, in the manner that both Civis and I wish, it would not, I may safely say, be materially felt : and even under all existing circumstances, I think it probable that, by channels, with which neither of us may be acquainted, specie may preserve its proper level between the two countries. But to return to the subject of Lord Cornwallis's conduct towards the Vizier.

By the new agreement already alluded to, his Excellency was relieved from a burthen of debt, which he could not have sustained, without the continuance of those embarrassments, to which the ruin of his territories was in a great measure imputed : he was to set off anew, on the easy condition of paying what was really necessary for his future protection ; and the Minister was left at full liberty to exercise those abilities, which he was known to possess, for the restoration of the country, the ruin of which had been industriously imputed to the interference of the English. For the execution of this great work, Hyder Beg Khawn was eminently qualified : considered, for a number of years, as the sole efficient Governor of his Excellency's dominions, without any restraint but what originated in the interference of the Company's agents, he had acquired with the Nawaub, a weight and consequence, which were indeed due to his suavity of manners, his respectable address, his abilities, and his knowledge of business. These qualifications, joined to the support of the English Government, rendered him fully equal to the

performance of the duty expected from him; and there were many motives, that one would have supposed, reasoning *a priori*, should have incited him to the most zealous exertions. The principal of these (and it was apparently a most interesting one to him) was the removal of all pretence for the renewal of that interference on the part of the English, of which he had been so long complaining, and from which he had been so anxious to get himself relieved.

It is not however any thing, which the writer of the letters in question has said on the foregoing subjects, however differently I may think from him in some of the points of view, in which he has considered them, that would have induced me to take up my pen. It is the light, in which he has placed the Commercial Treaty, between the Company and the Nawaub Vizier, and the conduct of the late Governor General respecting it, that leads me to intrude my observations on the public.

That I may illucidate the subject in the clearest manner, of which I am capable, I shall reduce the inferences, which I conceive may be drawn from the letters in question, into distinct heads; as follows:

First, that the Commercial Treaty was *forced* on the Vizier, without his having the option of refusing it.

Secondly, that the Commercial Treaty is far from being calculated for the *mutual* benefit of the contracting parties; but may be considered as an instrument, by which the Governor General may ruin the commerce of the Vizier's country for the benefit of the Company's provinces, and by which his Excellency "is made
" nearly to destroy the cultivation of some of the most productive articles of the
" country by the heaviness of the taxes imposed."

Thirdly, that the exclusion of Rohilcund entirely from the Treaty, implies either that the Vizier's title to that country is doubtful; or that the parties agree to set it apart to wanton rapacity.

Fourthly, that the Treaty, bad as it is, has been infringed, to the Vizier's prejudice, by the Bengal Government's preventing the importation of salt into the Company's provinces.

I shall endeavour to shew that these suppositions are totally unfounded, by first

explaining, to the best of my abilities, the nature of the Treaty in question; and then by stating the origin and progress of the negotiation by which it was adjusted.

The Commercial Treaty between the East-India Company, and the Nawaub Vizier, is founded on a similar basis, to that of, I believe, all other Treaties of Commerce. Its object is, on the one hand, to encourage the productions and manufactures of the *Company's* territories, and the articles of their importation from Europe, or foreign countries, by preventing the Vizier and his subjects from burthening them with heavy or arbitrary duties, or illegal exactions, after their being imported into his dominions; and, on the other hand, to encourage the productions and manufactures of the *Vizier's* territories, and the articles of his importation from foreign countries, by preventing the Company, and their servants from burthening them with heavy, or arbitrary duties, or illegal exactions, after their being imported into their districts. The *Export* duties, to be levied by either of the contracting parties, on the productions and manufactures of its own dominions, as well as on foreign goods passing through their respective territories, were of course left to the party, from or through whose country the merchandize might be carried, and whose interest it was, not to overburthen the Articles of its own exportation. In the single Article of cotton, passing from the Decan, through the Vizier's dominions, to those of the Company, the duty, which His Excellency might levy, was limited to Five per Cent. The encouragement which this limitation gives the merchant to bring the commodity in question, might probably be considered as affording an adequate compensation for the loss of any thing which the Vizier could have gained by exacting a higher duty; and if that were not the case, he received a full equivalent by sacrifices (some of which are not mentioned in the Treaty) made by the Company.

Having offered these preliminary observations, I shall proceed to a more minute discussion of the Treaty in question: that it may be seen whether it be really founded on the basis of mutual benefit; or whether all the advantages be, as *Civis* supposes, on the side of the Company. I shall begin by giving the Treaty at full length; and then examine its several articles.

A TREATY of COMMERCE *between* CHARLES EARL CORNWALLIS, *Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter ; one of His Britannic Majesty's Honourable Privy Council ; Lieutenant General of His Majesty's Forces ; Governor General and Commander in Chief of all the Possessions and Forces of His Britannic Majesty, and of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England in the East Indies, &c., &c., &c., on the part of the said Honourable United Company, and*

His Excellency the VIZIER UL MOMALIK HINDOSTAN, ASSUF JAH, NAWAB ASSUF UD DOWLAH, YEHEHA KHAN BEHADUR, HUZZUBBER JUNG.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES EARL CORNWALLIS, K. G. Governor General, &c., &c., and His Excellency the NAWAB VIZIER, Behadur, &c., &c., having received various representations from the Merchants trading between the Company's dominions, and the dominions of His Excellency the Vizier, setting forth the losses and inconveniences which they suffer, as well from the heavy duties collected on their merchandise, as from the mode of levying the same, His Lordship, on the part of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and His Excellency the Nawab Vizier, &c., with a view to remove the evils complained of, and to promote the welfare of their respective states, have agreed upon the following Articles, which shall be binding on themselves, their heirs, and successors.

ARTICLE I. The contracting parties shall not claim any exemption from duties either for themselves, their subjects, or dependants, or any other person or persons, of whatever country or nation.

ART. II. His Excellency the Nawab Vizier, &c. agrees to grant Rowannahs, or Custom-house Passes, under the Seals and Signatures of his officers, for all goods exported, from his dominions, to the dominions of the Company, specifying the quantity of the goods, and the valuation on which his own export

duties shall have been levied. The Right Honourable Earl Cornwallis, in like manner, engages that similar Rowannahs, or Custom-house Passes, shall be granted for all goods exported from the Company's dominions (comprehending the provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and the district of Benares), to the dominions of His Excellency the Vizier, specifying the quantity of the goods, and the valuation, on which the duties shall have been levied, in the dominions of the Company.

ART. III. His Excellency the Vizier, &c. agrees to levy the duties on all goods, imported into his territories, from the Company's dominions, upon the valuation specified in the Company's Rowannah. The Right Honourable Earl Cornwallis, &c. agrees to levy the duties on all goods, imported from His Excellency's dominions, into the district of Benares or the Company's provinces, on the valuation specified in the Rowannah of His Excellency the Nawab Vizier.

ART. IV. Goods exported from the Company's dominions, to the dominions of His Excellency the Vizier, if by the river Ganges, shall pay the duties at Lutchagyr, or at Foolpore; if by the river Goomty, at Gura Mobarikpore; if by the river Gogra, at Doohry Gaut; if by land, at Keeway, Maidnee Gunge, Chaundahpertiaubpore, Mow, or Mahraj Gunge; and if by the way of Sircar Gooruckpore, at the Gaut of the river Gunduck, or at Gooruckpore, Mujholee, or Chollooparah. The merchant or person, in charge of the goods, upon paying the duties, herein after mentioned, at either of the above stations, shall receive a Rowannah from the collector of the duties under his public seal, which shall exempt the goods from all further demands or molestation whatever, in their progress through the dominions of His Excellency.

The duties on goods exported from the dominions of His Excellency the Vizier, to the dominions of the Company, whether by land or water, shall be levied at the established stations in the district of Benares, and the province of Behar, and Rowannahs granted as above specified.

The contracting parties reserve to themselves the power of changing the situation of the stations for levying the duties, as they may deem expedient, upon giving public notification to each other of the new station fixed upon.

ART. V. Broad cloth, iron, copper, lead, manufactures of iron, copper, lead, gold or silver, raw silk, silk piece goods, cotton piece goods, and piece

goods made partly of filk and partly of cotton, exported from the dominions of the Company to the dominions of the Vizier, shall pay an import duty of Two and a Half per Cent. to His Excellency, on the price specified in the Rowannah taken out in the Company's dominions.

ART. VI. Salt exported from the Company's dominions to the dominions of the Nawab Vizier, shall pay an import duty of Five per Cent. to His Excellency, on the valuation, specified in the Rowannah granted at any of the stations in the Company's dominions.

ART. VII. Cotton coming from Jahlone, Hydernuggur, Omraowty, Naugpore, or any of the countries of the Decan, and passing through the dominions of the Nawab Vizier, to the dominions of the Company, shall pay a duty of Five per Cent. to His Excellency, on the fixed valuation of Six Rupees per Maund of Ninety-six Sicca Weight to the Seer; Rowannahs for covering the same through His Excellency's dominions, shall be granted at the station, where the duties are levied. The same cotton, when it arrives in the province of Benares, shall pay a duty of Two and a Half per Cent. and Two and a Half per Cent. more on entering the Soubah of Behar, upon the valuation above specified; or, should it not pass through the jurisdiction of Benares, it shall pay Five per Cent. upon being imported into the Company's provinces.

ART. VIII. Silk piece goods, cotton piece goods, and piece goods made partly of Silk and partly of cotton, exported from the dominions of the Nawab Vizier, to the Company's dominions, shall pay a duty of no more than Two and a Half per cent. on the price specified in His Excellency's Rowannah. The said duty shall be collected at the established stations in Benares, should the goods pass through that district; and upon their arrival in the Company's provinces, the collectors of the customs shall grant a Rowannah duty free to cover such goods to any part of Bengal, Behar, or Orissa. Should the said goods enter the Company's provinces, without passing through the district of Benares, the above duty of Two and a Half per Cent. shall be levied at the first station in the Company's provinces.

ART. IX. All goods, not specified in the foregoing Articles, exported from the respective dominions of the contracting parties, shall be subject to a duty of Five per Cent. on the valuation, inserted in the Rowannah of the country, from whence they were originally exported. If the goods shall have been exported

from the Company's dominions, to the dominions of the Nawab Vizier, His Excellency will collect the duty aforesaid, at one of the stations mentioned in the third Article; if from the territories of His Excellency, to the dominions of the Company, Two and a Half per Cent. shall be levied at the first-established station in the district of Benares, and Two and a Half per Cent. at the first authorised station in the province of Behar; or should the said goods enter the Company's provinces, without passing through the jurisdiction of Benares, the whole duty of Five per Cent. shall be collected at the first authorised station in the province of Behar.

ART. X. Goods exported from the provinces of Bengal, Behar, or Orissa, or from the district of Benares, to the dominions of the Nawab Vizier, after having paid the import duties to His Excellency, according to the rates, and in the mode, prescribed in the foregoing Articles, if sold in the dominions of the Nawab Vizier, shall be subject to the established local duties of the Market or Gunge, in which they are disposed of. Provided, nevertheless, that if the said goods shall be sold for the purpose of being exported beyond the confines of His Excellency's dominions, and not for the consumption of the same, no local Gunge or Market duty, or any other duty whatsoever, shall be levied on account of such sale or purchase; but the import Rowannah of the seller shall be indorsed by the Collector, or head officer in charge of such Gunge, and delivered over to the purchaser, who shall transport the goods through the dominions of the Nawab Vizier, without further molestation; if such purchaser, however, should afterwards dispose of the said goods, for consumption, in any Market or Gunge in His Excellency's territories, they shall be subject to the established duties of the same. In like manner, goods exported from the dominions of His Excellency, to the dominions of the Company, after having paid the import duty in the latter, according to the rates, and in the mode, prescribed in the foregoing Articles; if sold in any Gunge or Market, shall be subject to the local Gunge or Market duties under the preceding limitations.

The Gunge duties to be thus levied, are not to exceed the ancient established rates, to which no addition shall be made without the mutual consent of the contracting parties.

ART. XI. If any Renter, Zemindar, Collector of the Revenues, Jaghiredar, or holder of rent free lands, shall levy any duties, or exactions, on goods passing through the dominions of the contracting parties, and on which the regular duties

shall have been paid, and Rowannahs taken out, as prescribed in the foregoing Articles, for the first offence, he shall be fined Twenty Rupees for every Rupee so exacted; for the second offence, Forty Rupees; and for the third offence, if a renter or Collector of the Revenues, he shall be fined One Hundred Rupees for every rupee so exacted, and be dismissed from his farm or employment; if a Zemindar, Jaghiredar, or Rent free Land Holder, he shall forfeit his lands. Any Officer of the Customs exacting more than he is authorised, shall for the first offence be fined ten times the amount so exacted, and be dismissed from his employment. The party injured shall be indemnified, out of the fines, for the sum so exacted; and it shall be left to the discretion of the contracting powers to grant such further portion of the said fines, as they may deem adequate to the trouble and loss of the party so injured.

ART. XII. In order to discourage every attempt to evade the payment of the import duties, Merchants endeavouring to pass the station, at which they are to pay the same, without having previously taken out a Rowannah, shall be subject to double duties; and the contracting parties agree to issue orders in their respective territories, requiring all persons to pay the duties, and take out Rowannahs for their goods, as directed in the foregoing Articles, before they approach an authorised station.

This article not to extend to the local duties in the Markets or Gunges, which are to be collected in the mode, and under the limitations, prescribed in the tenth Article, upon the goods entering the same.

ART. XIII. The contracting parties reserve to themselves the right of levying whatever duties they may think proper, on all goods produced and consumed within their respective dominions, and also on their own exports, and on all imports from other countries not under the dominion of the Company, or the Nawab Vizier; the article of Decan, &c., cotton going to the Company's dominions excepted, on which His Excellency is to levy the duties as specified in the seventh Article.

ART. XIV. If any disputes shall arise between the Merchants of the respective states, it shall be decided by the laws of that state, in which the defendant may reside; if the defendant be a resident in the Company's dominions, the plaintiff shall be allowed the privilege of stating his case through the Vakeel or Agent of the Vizier, to the Right Honourable the Governor General in

Council, who may refer it for decision to the Provincial Court of Justice, within the jurisdiction of which, the cause of action may have arisen, or the defendant may reside; in like manner, if the defendant be a resident in the Vizier's dominions, the plaintiff shall be entitled to represent his case through the English Minister, to His Excellency the Vizier, who may refer it for decision to such of his officers, as he may think proper: it is further agreed, that should the Collectors of the Customs, Zemindars, or other subjects of either state, act in any respect, towards the Merchants and Traders, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this Treaty, the party injured shall be entitled to seek redress in the mode above prescribed.

ART. XV. This Treaty not to extend to the province of Rohilcund or Kuttair, in which His Excellency reserves to himself the right of collecting the duties according to the ancient established rates, or of encreasing, or diminishing the same, as he may deem expedient.

ART. XVI. His Excellency the Vizier having obtained the consent of the Nawab of Furruckabad to include his territories in this Treaty, and agreed to make him a compensation for any losses, he may sustain in his revenues, in consequence of having relinquished his claim to the collection of separate duties on the Decan, &c. Cotton, passing through his territories, to the dominions of the Company, and on the exports from the Company's dominions, the territories of the said Nawab, are included accordingly, and as far as concerns the operation of this Treaty, are to be considered, in every respect, upon the same footing, as a province of the dominions of His Excellency the Vizier.

ART. XVII. This Treaty to be in force from the first of September next, corresponding with the twenty-ninth of Zehige, one thousand two hundred and two higeree, or sooner, if it can be ratified and exchanged before that period.

Ratified at Fort William, 25th July, 1788.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS.

A true copy.

(Signed) E. HAY, *Secretary to the Government.*

The *first* article, which stipulates that the contracting parties shall not claim exemption of duties, either for themselves, their subjects, dependents, or others, is in fact wholly in favour of the Vizier; who, though he had never made such a claim on the Company, had allowed of their investments, and of much private trade belonging to their dependents, to pass duty free.

The *second*, *third*, and *fourth* articles, which regulate the establishment of custom-houses, the issuing of custom-house passes, the levying of import duties on such valuation, as may be specified on such passes to have been that, on which the other party shall have levied the export duty; and which prohibit the collecting of any thing on the imports, but the import duties fixed by the Treaty, &c. &c. refer equally to both.

The *fifth* specifies some favoured articles of importation from the Company's territories, on which his Excellency is only to levy an import duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. And the eighth does the same in regard to some of the imports from the Vizier's territories; fixing the same rate for the import duties payable to the Company on entering their districts.

The *sixth* and *ninth* articles enact, that salt, exported from the Company's provinces, into the Vizier's, and all other goods, not already specified, exported from the respective dominions of the contracting parties, shall be subject to an import duty of 5 per cent only. So far all is equal; but there follows a singular distinction in favour of the productions and manufactures of his Excellency's country, viz. that such goods, as may be imported from the Company's territories, into his, are to pay the whole duty on entering them; whereas those, that go from his, to the Company's districts, are to pay only half on entering the district of Benares, and the other half on entering the province of Behar; so that if they should be disposed of in the district of Benares, they pay only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This difference also must be remarked as a farther counterbalance for any loss, that the Vizier may be supposed to suffer, from the limitation of his duties on Decan cotton passing through his territories.

The subject of the Decan cotton, mentioned in the *seventh* article, has been already discussed.

The *tenth* article for regulating the Gunge (or market) duties is perfectly equal: and the same may be said of the *eleventh*, which stipulates the punish-

ment for breach of the Treaty; of the *twelfth*, for discouraging attempts to evade the payment of the import duties; and of the *thirteenth*, which reserves to the contracting parties, the right of levying duties, at pleasure, on all goods produced and consumed within their respective dominions, on their own exports, and on their own imports from other countries, not under the dominion of either of the parties; with exception to the Decan cotton, as above.

I must add, however, a few words more on the subject of the *thirteenth* article, on which the author of the letters, after calling it a singular one, makes the following remark: "From this, it seems to be in the power of
 " either party to put a stop to any particular branch of trade; but it really
 " throws the whole power into the hands of the Governor General, as he has
 " only occasion to request the Nawaub to lay a heavy tax upon any article he
 " wishes to prevent being imported into the Company's dominions." To me, it appears, that the Author might, with as much propriety, have stated, that when the Governor General wishes to make a revolution in Oude, he has only to request his Excellency to depose himself. With the strong military force, which the Company have in the Vizier's dominions, it is certainly in their power to wrest the Government from him whenever they please; and the terror of their arms might, if they were disposed to exert it to that end, force his Excellency to act contrary to his own real interests. But so long as they maintain his independency, they cannot, without a dereliction of all principle, impose such a measure; and to represent them as capable of it, is to militate against all the arguments urged by Civis, for the propriety of our rescuing the country out of the griping hands, in which it is now said to be: for what improvement could be expected from a change of masters, if the new rulers be so little attached to the interest of the country, as to take the step which Civis has supposed?

Granting, however, for argument sake, that the Bengal Government have the disposition to make use of the dread of their power, as an instrument to oblige the Nawaub to lay a heavy export duty on any commodity, which they do not wish should be brought from his country into the Company's provinces, it is manifest that they cannot derive any pretext for so using it, from the article in question; an article, by which the power of the Vizier to levy what export duty he please, is expressly acknowledged; an article, therefore, which would aggravate the intrinsic injustice of such a transaction, by the additional guilt of breach of Treaty.

But let us consider the matter in another point of view. Civis, it appears, would have had the export duties, which the Vizier should levy on the commodities, carried from his country to that of the Company, to be specified in the Treaty. Might it not, therefore, be reasonably asked of him, *which* of the contracting parties he supposes should have *proposed* such a stipulation? If he answer, *the Company*; I reply, that it would have been interfering in a matter which did not concern them, as it is the productions and manufactures of the *Vizier's* dominions, not of *their's*, which must be affected by the export duties levied on them; and it would moreover have given his Excellency a right to interfere in like manner, with respect to *their* export duties, of the effect of which, on their own manufactures and interests, they alone are the proper judges. If Civis answer, that the *Vizier* should have proposed such a stipulation; I reply, that in him, it would have been nothing less than making a proposal to *tie his own hands*! But, I shall enlarge more fully on subjects connected with this point of view, when I speak of the article for excepting Rohilcund.

If, then, the Vizier's Ministers have, as Civis supposes, had the folly to lay a heavier export duty on indigo and sugar, carried from his Excellency's dominions, into the Company's provinces, than they can well bear, it merely corresponds with the rest of their administration, as described by Civis; and no reflection can fall on the framers of the commercial Treaty, unless it be proved that a Treaty of commerce ought to give to the strongest of the contracting powers, the internal management of the other's territories.

It is true, however, that the encouragement of the cultivation of indigo for the European market, so as to establish it as a *staple* commodity of the Company's own provinces, may be an object of great importance to their interests. I am, therefore, far from asserting that our Government may not have viewed, with more than ordinary complacency, the heavy duty of 13 per cent. which the Vizier's Ministers thought proper to lay on the exportation of that commodity from his Excellency's country; or that, bound as they are by Treaty to allow his Excellency the power of fixing the rates of his export duties, on *every* article of the productions and manufactures of his own country, they may not have refused, with more than common warmth, to interfere for the purpose of encouraging the importation of the very commodity, which it is the Company's interest should not be imported.

The *fourteenth* article of the Treaty, which points out the mode of redress for breaches of it, and of prosecution for debt, &c. between the merchants of the respective states, appears also to be equal : but in practice, there is unfortunately a wide difference : the merchants of Oude, who may have cause for complaint in the Company's provinces, being sure of redress in some one of their numerous courts of justice ; whereas, the obtaining of any from his Excellency's officers was found to be very precarious indeed.

The *sixteenth* article merely specifies that Furruckabad is included ; and the *seventeenth* and last, only settles the date, from which the Treaty was to be in force.

The *fifteenth* article still remains to be noticed. This, Civis calls the most singular of all, as excluding Rohilcund from the Treaty, or any benefit that could be derived from it. The last words " any benefit that could be derived from it " are Civis's own : and unfortunately they (unintentionally I have no doubt) misrepresent the fact. Rohilcund is not excluded from *any* benefit, which the Treaty professes to give to the rest of the Nawaub Vizier's dominions. The benefit intended by the Treaty, to accrue to the *Vizier's* subjects, consists in the limitation of the *Company's* right to collect import duties on the productions and manufactures of his Excellency's dominions, when carried into the Company's territories ; but the exclusion of Rohilcund from the Treaty does not make any difference in regard to these import duties receivable by the Company, upon merchandize produced or manufactured in that district, when it is brought into their provinces *. The difference really occasioned by the exclusion of Rohilcund

* Perhaps, it might bear an argument whether, strictly speaking, the Company would not be justified in levying higher import duties on the productions and manufactures of Rohilcund, than the rates specified in the Treaty. Since the article in question says, that the " Treaty is not to extend to Rohilcund," it might be urged, that commodities exported *from* that district into the Company's provinces, are not entitled to the benefit arising from the limitation of the Company's right of levying import duties, any more than the commodities imported *into* that district, from the Company's provinces, are entitled to benefit by the limitation of the Vizier's power in the same respect. To this, however, it might be answered, that the remaining part of the article explains the meaning of the expression above quoted, viz. " in which " (speaking of Rohilcund) " his Excellency reserves to himself the right of collecting duties, according to the ancient established rates, or of increasing or diminishing the same, as he may deem expedient." But, however it may be determined, on a critical enquiry into the literal meaning of the clause, the construction which I have put upon it, is consonant both to the spirit of the Treaty, and to practice : no difference between the productions and manufactures of Rohilcund, and those of any other part of the Vizier's dominions, having ever been

from the Treaty is this : It continues, in regard to such of the productions and manufactures of the *Company's* provinces, as may be carried into Rohilcund, the discouragement arising from the Vizier's power of collecting exorbitant and arbitrary import duties. The loss, therefore, falls on the *Company* and their subjects. Accidentally, indeed, it may be productive of injury to the inhabitants of Rohilcund ; but it is an injury of that nature, which it is quite *foreign* to the object of the Commercial Treaty to correct. Were the professed intention of the Treaty to prevent oppressions in the collection of *all* kinds of duties, whether export, import, or internal, in the Vizier's territories, the animadversions of Cavis, and Miles, would be well founded. But such a Treaty of Commerce would have been *unique* in its kind ; and no less singular, than if in negotiating the Commercial Treaty between England and France, our Ministry had taken on themselves to stipulate in favour of the subjects of the latter, for the abolition, or abatement of the heavy duties on salt, which their old Government exacted ; a measure, which, though it might have been truly philanthropic, would have been rejected by France with scorn and derision, as a presumptuous attempt to interfere with the internal Government of a foreign country. I repeat, that the benefits intended to be derived from limiting the Vizier's power of collecting duties, relate (Decan cotton-excepted) to *import* duties alone, and are to accrue only to the *Company*, and *its subjects*, (any advantage, which the inhabitants of the Vizier's dominions may derive from it, being merely accidental, and foreign to the object of the Treaty) ; and, on the other hand, that the benefits, to which the *Vizier* and *his subjects* are entitled by the Treaty, are confined to the encouragement given to the productions and manufactures of his Excellency's dominions, by *the limitation and regulation of the Company's right to collect import duties*, whenever they are carried from his Excellency's districts into their's.

I have so frequently found the object of the Treaty misunderstood, that I am more than commonly anxious to impress a just idea of it : and this anxiety has

thought of, in levying the import duties at the Company's custom houses : and, indeed, the delays and vexations, which must be the consequence of a contrary opinion, (considering that Rohilcund is the very farthest part of the Vizier's country) would be so great, as to render such a distinction impracticable, and of course to shew that such an interpretation could not be the true one. Supposing, however, that the productions and manufactures of Rohilcund were not entitled, when carried into the Company's provinces, to benefit, by the limitation of the Company's right to levy import duties, this is not *the* benefit, which Cavis and Miles have in view, when they make such strong objections to this article of the Treaty. The benefit, of which, it is manifest, *they* suppose Rohilcund to be deprived by the exclusion, is that of *protection* from the rapacity of the *Vizier's* officers, and from the exaction of heavy export duties, with neither of which, the Treaty has any thing to do.

led me into prolixity, and perhaps, needless repetition, for which I solicit the reader's indulgence.

The *motive* of the Vizier's Ministers for wishing to except Rohilcund from the Commercial Treaty, is not so very difficult to conjecture, as the author of the letters seems to think. Had he kept in view the real *object* of the Treaty, he would, probably, have adverted to the obvious reason of their wishing to get as much money "as they could" on the importations from the Company's territories. To this, must be added the professed, though more exceptionable motive, arising from the pride of conquest (not from a doubt of his Excellency's title,) which made them desirous of keeping the duties of Etawah, as well as of Rohilcund, separate and distinct, as they had always been, from those collected in the Nawaub's hereditary dominions. What induced the Members of *our* Government to assent to the Treaty, while it retained the exception in regard to one, though they negotiated with success against the proposal for excluding the other, was the consideration that the first (Rohilcund) was not, like Etawah, in the high road to Agrah, Delhi, and the other great western markets.

Thus, I have, I flatter myself, proved that Lord Cornwallis's aim, in negotiating the Commercial Treaty, was the good of the Vizier's dominions, as much as that of the Company's. Nor was this all: he lamented, from the beginning, the oppressive mode, in which the Vizier levies his duties on his own trade: for (as his Lordship very justly and forcibly observed, in one of his letters to me) "to trade with an impoverished nation is of little advantage; and "unless the merchants of Oude be protected in their own country, the commerce they will carry on with Bengal, will be very inconsiderable." Nor was he wanting to recommend a reform on these points to his Excellency's Ministers, in as strong terms as were consistent with their master's independency. The same anxious desire to promote the prosperity of the Vizier's country was his Lordship's inducement, voluntarily to relinquish the practice, which had been exercised for several preceding years, of providing part of the Company's cloth investment in Oude; because it was found that it could not be carried on, without giving the agent, or contractor, an influence, which, by securing him the right of pre-emption, and thereby virtually establishing a monopoly, must effect the exclusion of the native merchants, and be highly unfavourable to the manufacturers. "The industry of the Nawab's manufacturers," as it is expressed in the report, on which his Lordship founded his resolution, "is never properly "directed, but when for the benefit of the merchants of his own dominions."

On similar principles, it was, that his Lordship adopted the regulations for the management and supply of the military markets, which were so well calculated to do away all the inconveniences and losses, that had been complained of by the Vizier and his subjects.

I am now to shew that the Commercial Treaty, whether good or bad, was not *forced* on the Vizier: and this I shall endeavour to do, by stating the origin and progress of the negotiation, by which it was brought about.

A few months after Lord Cornwallis's coming to the Government, it was resolved to send up Mr. Barlow, a civil servant of the Company, well qualified for such a situation, "to inquire into the state of trade in the Province of Oude, and to ascertain the most advantageous mode of providing the Company's investment in the Vizier's dominions." Colonel Harper, who was then the Governor General's agent at Lucnow, was directed to "give him all necessary information and assistance;" and, at the same time, to "assure the Vizier that the object of the inquiry was in no respect meant to interfere in the trade of his Excellency's dominions; but only to acquire that information, which might enable our Government to provide such goods, as were wanted for the Company's investment, on the best terms for them, and in a manner least oppressive to his subjects." The result of Mr. Barlow's inquiries was that the provision of any part of the investment in Oude, could not be of sufficient importance to the Company, to counterbalance the evils, which, for causes I have already alluded to, a continuance of the practice would bring on the Vizier's own subjects and country: and for these reasons, the design was relinquished.

Mr. Barlow, however, was led by the same anxiety for promoting the welfare of the two countries, to suggest the idea of a Commercial Treaty, between the Company and the Vizier, founded on principles of *mutual* benefit. The idea was approved of; and he entered on the negotiation with Hyder Beg Khawn, who seemed, in several conversations which took place between them, to be convinced by Mr. Barlow's arguments, of the benefits which would result to both parties from such a Treaty, as well as of the pernicious tendency of the impolitic and oppressive mode, in which the Vizier's duties on the trade of his own territories were levied. Whether Hyder Beg Khawn's consent to the Treaty proceeded from his conviction of the solidity of Mr. Barlow's arguments; or whether, though convinced, perhaps, of their truth, he was too indifferent about the real prosperity of the country, to be influenced by them, and merely assented,

in the hope of ingratiating himself, for the time, with the new Governor General, may admit of a doubt : his subsequent conduct, which seemed to me to manifest an indifference to the success of all measures for the encouragement of trade, or the general good of the country, made, I acknowledge, a strong impression of the latter supposition on my mind. But however this may be, both Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Barlow were persuaded, and had reason at the time to be so, that his eyes were opened, and his professions sincere: and certainly, whatever were his motives, *force* was entirely out of the question; as I shall make still farther evident.

By the latter end of September 1787, when Lord Cornwallis, who was on his way up the country to visit the military stations, arrived at Lucnow, Mr. Barlow had settled most of the articles of the intended Treaty; though some points, and those of no inconsiderable moment, remained to be adjusted. The principal of these were the abolition of the Rohilcund, the Etawah, and the Furruckabad import duties, and the allowing to merchants, travelling from the Company's dominions, to Oude, the privilege of applying for a redress of their complaints through the Company's Resident. Lord Cornwallis's stay at Lucnow was too short, to allow of his concluding the negotiation in person; and as Mr. Barlow returned to the presidency with him, it was entrusted to me, who was left behind as the Resident: and here, I may ask whether the commencement of the business by Mr. Barlow, the discontinuance of all progress in it, while Lord Cornwallis was on the spot, and the entrusting of the final adjustment to the new Resident, be not wholly inconsistent with the supposition, which is made by the writer of the letters, that "the Treaty was presented to the Vizier with merely a *cong   d  lire*, or rather not so much; and that it would have been much more agreeable to truth, if the opening of the Treaty had began, like other official informations, with *by order of the Governor General*." But farther—in Lord Cornwallis's instructions to me, for continuing the negotiation, which are dated the 30th of November 1787, the arguments (drawn from policy, and reciprocity of sacrifices), which I should make use of to overcome the objections started by the Minister to the points in question, were laid down for my guidance; and I was particularly enjoined to be "careful to adopt, in my conferences, the language of negotiation:" "for," added his Lordship, "I do not wish that my influence should be made use of in obtaining his consent to these arrangements; or that he should imagine they had any other object in view, but that of diffusing prosperity, and affluence, throughout our respective states."

By what steps the negotiation proceeded, it is needless to detail. Suffice it to say that it was conducted in the manner prescribed to me; that the Minister gave up his objections to the mode proposed of preferring complaints through the Resident; and that though he was persuaded to include Furruckabad, and Etawah in the Treaty, yet he persisted in his determination to except Rohilcund. The negotiation was, by the discussion of these points, spun out to a considerable length; so that the Treaty was not signed till July 1788, between seven or eight months after I received the orders to take up the business where Mr. Barlow had left it; so little had it of that ease and dispatch, with which, an instrument issued by the sole authority of the Governor General, would have been expedited.

One mistake, into which I conceive the author of the letters to have fallen, still remains to be noticed. I mean the supposed infringement of the Treaty, to the prejudice of the Vizier, by the Bengal Government's preventing the importation of salt into the Company's provinces. "In the Treaty" he says, "it is agreed upon that all articles not mentioned (under which head, comes salt) should pay an import duty of five per cent." "Surely," continues he, "this implies a toleration of such articles." However plausible this reasoning may be on a cursory view, yet on a more attentive consideration of the subject, it must, I think, appear that the clause, which he has quoted, cannot authorize the importation of an article, as salt is, that was before prohibited, and known to be prohibited. To have legalized the importation of this article, the preamble of the Treaty, instead of imputing the losses and inconveniences, which the merchants trading between the dominions of the contracting parties, had experienced, to the *heavy duties* collected on their merchandize, and to the *mode of levying* the same, should have set forth the losses and inconveniences to have arisen, in part at least, from *prohibitions*; and there should have been a clause in the body of the Treaty, for authorizing the *importation* of merchandize of all kinds. This single observation is, I trust, sufficient to exonerate the Bengal Government from any charge of a breach of Treaty.

I shall not attempt to follow Civis in his arguments respecting the Company's monopoly of salt, and its effects on the inhabitants of their own provinces. Besides its being foreign to my purpose, which is confined to the affairs of Oude, it is a subject, of which I confess myself to be by no means a master; though I know that it has been frequently and amply discussed by the most able pens and tongues, from the time of Lord Clive; and though I recollect that, on a perusal

of the arguments on both sides of the question, I was formerly of opinion, that notwithstanding it certainly is a monopoly in the first instance, yet it is so modified, as to be free from those bad effects on the inhabitants of the Company's provinces, which generally attend monopolies. But as far as the *Vizier* is concerned, it will, I presume, admit of no dispute, that it would be highly unreasonable in him, to expect that a system, which produces the Company an *immense* revenue, should be relinquished for the sake of giving him the comparatively *paltry* profit, arising from the collection of a duty on such salt (for his own country produces none) as may pass from the westward, through his dominions, towards the Company's territories.

That the abolition of all duties whatever would be a most desirable object, did not the necessities of nations compell them to have recourse to their imposition, is too obvious to stand in need of argument. But constituted as the world now is, the most enlightened governments must be content with moderating the export duties, which they levy on the productions and manufactures of their own country, and with negotiating with foreign states for moderating the import duties, which such states have a right to collect on the merchandise, upon its entering their territories.

Between the dominions of the *Vizier* and the Company, all that appears necessary to be done in regard to the *import* duties, is provided for by the commercial Treaty: and in respect to the *export* duties, the Company's representatives have had the wisdom to fix them at such rates, as not to overburthen their subjects. The *Vizier's* Ministers have not as yet (at least, they had not, when I left India) sufficiently overcome the prejudices of their country, which but too often lead to the destruction of the hen that lays the golden eggs, to follow the Company's example: but that they may do so, is as sincerely my wish, as it is that of *Civis*, with whom also I perfectly agree in the leading idea of the concluding sentence of his third letter, viz. that a free trade (by which I merely mean a trade free from unreasonable, arbitrary, and illegal exactions and obstructions) and a just government, are all that is required to make the *Vizier's* dominions a very prosperous and happy country.

Titchfield, Hants,

Nov. 30, 1796.

P. S. Civis's estimates, statements, and plans for effecting a reform in the civil, military, and commercial affairs of Oude, I do not conceive myself, in the private situation to which I have retired, called upon to appreciate; and therefore as I may not, perhaps, be in possession of all the materials necessary to do the subject justice, and as the examining and digesting of such as I have, would take up more time than I can well spare, I refrain from touching on those points.

FINIS.

PUBLICATIONS Printed for J. DEBRETT.

This Day is published, Price 2s. 6d. sewed,

A New Edition, carefully corrected at the East-India House, and including the late Brevet Promotions in the Army, &c. &c.

And may be had bound with Kalendar, Almanack, and India Kalendar, price 6s.

With ditto and Companion, 7s. 6d.

With ditto and American Kalendar, 10s. 6d.

THE EAST-INDIA KALENDAR; or, ASIATIC REGISTER for Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Fort Marlborough, China, and St. Helena, for the Year 1797; on a more extensive Plan than any hitherto offered to the Public. Containing complete and correct Lists of the Company's Civil, Military, Marine, Law, and Revenue Establishments; Public Offices, Bankers; Greek, Armenian, Mogul, and Portuguese Merchants; Company's Agents at Home and Abroad; with a correct List of British European Subjects residing in India, not in the Company's Service, &c. &c. &c.

LETTERS, POLITICAL, MILITARY, and COMMERCIAL, on the present state and Government of the PROVINCE of OUDE and its Dependencies; addressed to Sir John Shore, Bart. by CIVIS.

(By Permission of the Right Honourable HENRY DUNDAS.)

HISTORICAL VIEW of PLANS for the GOVERNMENT of BRITISH INDIA, and Regulation of Trade to the East Indies; and Outlines of a Plan of Foreign Government, of Commercial Economy, and of Domestic Administration for the ASIATIC INTERESTS of GREAT BRITAIN. In One Volume 4to. Price One Guinea in Boards.

An ACCOUNT of the METHOD and EXPENCE of CULTIVATING the SUGAR CANE in BENGAL; with Calculations of the First Cost to the Manufacturer and Exporter; and Suggestions for attracting that Article of the Eastern Produce exclusively to Great Britain: in a Letter from a Planter and Distiller in Bengal to his Friend in London. Price 3s.

STRICTURES and OBSERVATIONS on the MOCURRERY SYSTEM of LANDED PROPERTY in BENGAL. Price 3s.

The RIGHT of the WEST-INDIA MERCHANTS to a Double Monopoly of the SUGAR MARKET of GREAT BRITAIN Examined. Price 2s.

STRICTURES and OCCASIONAL OBSERVATIONS upon the SYSTEM of BRITISH COMMERCE with the EAST INDIES; to which is added, a succinct History of the Sugar Trade in general. Price 4s. sewed.

THREE LETTERS on the Importation of BENGAL SUGAR. Price 2s. 6d.

The five preceding Articles may be had together, in one large Volume 8vo. in Boards, Price 15s.

Publications Printed for J. DEBRETT.

THE PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER ; or, the History of the Proceedings and Debates of both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT ; containing an Account of the most interesting Speeches and Motions, authentic Copies of all important Letters and Papers laid before either House during the PRESENT SESSION.

NUMBERS I, II, III, and IV, are this Day published, revised and collated with the Note of several Members ; and will be continued Weekly during the Session.

* * This Work was originally undertaken at the desire of several persons of distinguished abilities and rank, from whose communications and patronage it has derived peculiar advantages. The favourable reception it has met with during the four last and present Parliaments, while it demands the most grateful acknowledgments of the Editors, encourages them to prosecute a continuation of the same, during the present Parliament. For this purpose they beg leave again to solicit the assistance of their former friends, and every other Gentleman. A strict attention will be paid to all their commands and favours ; nor will any assiduity or care be wanting to preserve that truth and accuracy, for which this Work has hitherto been distinguished.

Of whom may be had,

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER, from 1790 to 1796, 18 Vols. 9l. 4s. 6d. half bound and lettered.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER, from 1784 to 1790, 13 Vols. 6l. 18s. half bound and lettered.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER, from 1780 to 1784, 14 Vols. 5l. 12s. half bound and lettered.

DEBATES and PROCEEDINGS of both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, from 1743 to 1774, 7 Vols. 8vo. 2l. 12s. 6d. half bound and lettered.

STATE PAPERS ON THE WAR.

This Day was published, in Four Volumes, 8vo. price 1l. 17s. in Boards,

A COLLECTION of STATE PAPERS relative to the WAR AGAINST FRANCE now carrying on by GREAT BRITAIN, and the several other EUROPEAN POWERS. Containing Authentic Copies of TREATIES, CONVENTIONS, PROCLAMATIONS, MANIFESTOES, DECLARATIONS, MEMORIALS, REMONSTRANCES, OFFICIAL LETTERS, PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, LONDON GAZETTE ACCOUNTS of the WAR, &c. &c. &c. &c. Many of which have never before been published in England.

“ For our accounts of the former parts of this valuable Collection, we refer to our Reviews for December 1794, and July 1796. The Editor assures the Public in his introduction, that he has drawn his materials from the best sources, that he has endeavoured to combine accuracy of detail with clearness of arrangement, and that he has attempted to execute his Translations with that fidelity, which is so peculiarly necessary in a Work that aspires to the character of Official.” He farther observes, that “ the frequent references that have been made to the present Constitution of the French Republic, have induced him to include it in the present Collection.” This last article will doubtless be thought by many Readers to add considerably to the importance of the present volume.

Monthly Review, Sept. 1796.

Publications Printed for J. DEBRET.

LIEUTENANT ANDERSON'S NARRATIVE OF EARL MACARTNEY'S
CHINESE EMBASSY.

This Day was Published, the Third Edition, price 7s. 6d. in Boards,

Dedicated to Lord HENRY MURRAY,

A NARRATIVE of the BRITISH EMBASSY to CHINA, in the Years 1792, 1793, and 1794; containing a faithful, interesting, and impartial Relation of the various Circumstances of the Embassy, with Accounts of the CUSTOMS and MANNERS of the CHINESE, and a Description of the Country, Towns, Cities, &c. &c.

By ÆNEAS ANDERSON,

Then in the Service of his Excellency Earl MACARTNEY, K. B. Ambassador from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China, and now Lieutenant in the Second Royal Manx Fencibles.

Of whom may be had,

A few remaining Copies of the 4to Edition.

“ We have travelled with Mr. Anderson through the whole of his volume with great satisfaction, and we do not hesitate to recommend the same pleasure to others. He may, perhaps, by some be thought too minute in his descriptions: but in an unknown country, which China may in a great degree be considered, every circumstance is important; and in such a Work as this, where there will necessarily be an occasional dearth of great objects, or at least where such objects want that bold variety which can be communicated to the page, trifles become interesting, and aid the general effect of the Narration.”

European Magazine, May 1795.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below

NOV 16 1984
REC'D LD-URL
RENEWAL
LD URL
NOV 15 1984
NOV 16 1984

5 [Civis] -
L5 Letters.



*DS
485
09L5



